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# West Europe Report

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7 January 1985

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## PAPER ENCOURAGED BY COPENHAGEN NORDIC NUCLEAR FREE ZONE MEETING

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 27 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial by Rafael Paro]

[Text] The important thing about the idea of a Nordic Nuclear-Free Zone is for it to say together, i.e., for all of the Scandinavian countries to be involved, writes Rafael Paro. It is not an easy path, but a necessary one.

The enthusiasm and relative unity which the Nordic citizen organizations' conference in Copenhagen expressed heightens the impression that the idea of a nuclear-free Nordic area has taken a step forward. The conference was organized by the Nordic committees for security in Europe, and the participants were several hundred representatives from various citizens' organizations in the Nordic countries. It can thus be said that with this broadly attended conference the citizens' organizations were attempting to point the way for the Nordic governments and parliaments. It goes without saying, however, that a conference of the type that was held in Copenhagen cannot pass any kind of binding resolution for the Scandinavian countries.

The Copenhagen conference was able, however, to document the fact that there is a growing body of public opinion in the Scandinavian countries that wants to do something concrete to keep speculation about nuclear weapons out of Scandinavia. The heightened international tensions of recent years and the new nuclear weapons of the two superpower blocs in Europe have left their mark. President Urho Kekkonen's 21-year-old idea has not lost its timeliness.

In the Nordic debate there has at times crept in the misconception that Finland's enthusiasm for the entire zone idea has cooled. It can be assumed, unfortunately, that this feeling received new support when Foreign Minister Paavo Vaeyrynen did not show up in Copenhagen. In view of the domestic political situation, however, it was not entirely irresponsible for the Center Party chairman to decide to attend the meeting of the Center Party delegation [in Parliament] in Kouvola.

The contribution which Special Minister Eeva Kuuskoski-Vikatmaa made to the conference has been referred to in the press reports as routine. Behind the Finnish assessments of the official Finnish contribution lies some of the traditional spirit from international athletic competitions. The Finnish flag should at least be shown. This position is defensible to the extent that any sign of passiveness can easily be interpreted in foreign countries as meaning that our enthusiasm [for the idea] has cooled.

It may be of value, however, to consider what the actual issue at stake is. Firstly, there is no evidence that the citizens of this country and those in charge of its foreign policy do not set as high a priority on the effort to bring about a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area as they ever have. In this area the Finnish flag has been practically the only one flying for two decades. In the Nordic debate and in the Western alliance, our efforts have been greeted with a certain amount of skepticism and sometimes even outright distrust.

When developments reached the point where the issue of the cruise missiles became a burning topic of the day, there was at least the change that ultimately most of the debaters on the Western side came to the realization that the effort to implement the zone idea has been one for which the Finns have traditionally pushed. Over the last several years the outlines of the next phase have been discernible; an ever-growing debate in the other Nordic countries on their interest in the zone.

The tug-of-war has been especially fierce in Denmark and has put the nonsocialist government into a bind. The resistance to nuclear weapons has been a weapon wielded in the domestic-political battle in which the Danish Social Democrats have defended their relationship with NATO, the opposition to the Schluter government and the attempt of the far left to monopolize the peace issue by lining up behind the idea of the zone. Despite the speech by Prime Minister Poul Schulter at the conference and the enthusiastic efforts of the Social-Democratic leader Anker Joergensen, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that there is by no means unified Danish support for the idea of the zone. A more active Finnish role in the struggle may be a two-edged sword.

The issue is also still unresolved in Norway and Sweden. Norway did not send a minister. Sweden's Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom was present and was able to promise that Sweden would continue its efforts to achieve concrete results. It should be done, however, in such a way as to avoid creating splits or conflicts among the Nordic countries, Bodstrom emphasized.

The important thing about the idea of the zone is, of course, that it stay together, i.e., that all of the Nordic countries be involved. It is not an easy path, but it is a necessary one.

CSO: 3650/88

## WOMEN'S ELECTORAL LIST PARTY SUBMITS NUCLEAR FREEZE BILL

## Foreign Minister Replies

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 2 Nov 84 p 42

/Article: "Women's List: Nuclear Arms Freeze Bill"/

/Text/ The Women's List /KL/ parliamentary members have submitted a parliamentary resolution on nuclear arms freeze. The primary sponsor of the bill is Gudrun Agnarsdottir who said in her introductory speech that it is necessary to have the approval of the Althing when the foreign minister makes decisions in the international arena and referred to the incident when Iceland abstained during the vote on the nuclear arms freeze proposal submitted by Sweden, Mexico and other countries in the UN.

The KL bill calls upon the government to promote in the international arena that the United States and the Soviet Union declare an immediate nuclear arms freeze. An amendment to the bill has been submitted by the parliamentarians of the People's Alliance in which it is suggested that the representatives of Iceland in the international arena declare categorical support to various measures concerning disarmament issues, for example that the nuclear powers obligate themselves not to be the first to use nuclear weapons; arms in space be banned; the Nordic countries be a nuclear-free zone, etc.

During debates on the proposals last Thursday, Foreign Minister Geir Hallgrimsson said that a freeze on nuclear weapons would not be enough but an agreement on disarmament must be reached and that NATO had made an offer to the Warsaw Pact that all nuclear weapons in Europe would be dismantled. The foreign minister also pointed out the necessity of considering a reduction in the conventional armament as well.

The Althing Foreign Relations Committee will consider the proposals.



## Columnist Attacks Resolution

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 3 Nov 84 p 9

.Commentary by 'Staksteinar' /

/Excerpts / Not Disarmament But Freeze

In view of the emphasis everybody, especially Western governments, place on having the superpowers sit down at the negotiating table and negotiate a unilateral disarmament, it is amazing to see that in the bill submitted by the Women's List /KL/ parliamentary members there is no mention of arms reduction but a request of a freeze of the current status. What is the reason for this? Have the KL members of parliament not realized that the governments of the NATO countries have submitted a more radical proposal than nuclear arms freeze? Or are they stuck in obsolete views during the nuclear arms debates that are based on comparative studies and that the United States is a slightly worse superpower than the Soviet Union?

### Nuclear Arms Freeze

Three KL members of parliament have submitted a parliamentary resolution in which it is called upon the government to be instrumental in the international arena in having the Soviet Union and the United States declare an immediate nuclear arms freeze, either with simultaneous unilateral declarations or jointly. The MPs feel that this ought to be the first step in an extensive disarmament plan.

This idea of a nuclear arms freeze goes back a few years and that story has been told in many places. Upon closer study of this, it comes to light that the first influential man to touch upon this was no other than Leonid Brezhnev, the leader of the Soviet Union, as it was most agreeable to Soviet interests to freeze nuclear weapons during his reign and only the Soviets had established intermediate range nuclear missiles with multiple warheads which threatened all Western Europe. Influential men in the U.S. Congress, among them Edward Kennedy, made the freeze their issue but their prominence has not increased in U.S. politics because of that and during the election campaign that will come to an end on Tuesday, this issue and nuclear arms in general are not high on the agenda. In those European countries where these issues have been most strongly fought over, the ones who received the greatest support in the general elections and have been the winners were those who did not want to weaken the defense of their countries either by agreeing to ideas of Soviet origins about nuclear affairs nor unilateral disarmament of other origin.

The KL members of parliament seem to have forgotten various things from the history of nuclear missiles in Europe when the report accompanying the freeze proposal was written. It states, among other things:

"The two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, are in a deadlock and at the same time they are holding large parts of the world hostage in a sensitive and insecure balance of threat. The instability of this balance increases as the technique of the new weapons becomes more developed and as an example it can be mentioned that now only 6 minutes are available to act and react to nuclear missiles of the Pershing II-type that were deployed in Europe this year. In retaliation to this measure taken by NATO and the United States, the Soviets have now deployed 20 nuclear missiles in the Warsaw Pact countries which are aimed at the countries in Europe that are members of the Atlantic Alliance."

#### SS-20 First

Whatever the opinion people have on nuclear arms, there should be an agreement to keep the story straight when submitting argumentation for the cause. As can be seen in the quotation from the report from the KL members of parliament, it is indicated, let us say no more, that the Americans were the first in deploying intermediate range missiles in Europe.

The Western states have repeatedly declared that they are prepared to continue the disarmament talks which the Soviets broke with their walkout in 1983. It is a great misunderstanding to think that a nuclear arms freeze is a shortcut to realistic disarmament and mutual arms reduction. A freeze actually means less than what the Soviets have agreed to during disarmament talks and much less than what the Americans and the NATO countries have proposed be done in disarmament matters. It is strange that the KL has not realized these facts and entered into a cooperation with, for example, the Independence Party in order to implement the proposal on disarmament which the party now has resubmitted to the Althing.

9583

CSO: 3626/2



## VAGUE NATO PLATFORM GARNERS PSOE SUPPORT

Madrid ABC in Spanish 6 Nov 84 p 29

/Text/ The "consensus" proposal regarding NATO presented by the prime minister, Felipe Gonzalez, during the debate about the state of the nation has at least been assured the support of 60 percent of the delegates that will attend the 30th federal convention in the month of December. The Socialist Left, despite having experienced a certain amount of growth, remains "below the minimum," according to the results of the provincial congresses.

In fact, the minority faction of the PSOE /Spanish Socialist Workers Party/, headed by Pablo Castellano, has not obtained 20 percent of the representatives to the convention that were elected last weekend. In Andalusia, for example out of 169 delegates only 21 will be from the Socialist Left. The same thing has happened with the groups in Valencia and Madrid, although in the former, in almost half of the regional conventions, the "officialists" /government supporters/ voted for the amendments in favor of Spain's withdrawal from NATO, a position defended by the "critics."

## Ambiguity Produced Results

The control exercised by Alfonso Guerra over the key federations of the PSOE, like Andalusia, Valencia, Madrid, and Castilla-La Mancha, which comprise more than half of the party's membership, has made possible the victory of the Atlantic Alliance stand emanating from the socialist leadership. All of this in spite of the fact that opposition from almost 40 percent of the basic levels that originated during the first round of congresses, has been maintained.

The ambiguity over NATO, deliberately maintained during the report summary (a document that will be debated during the convention), produced results when it succeeded in getting the majority of the party, initially against the Atlantic Alliance, to turn around and agree that it should be the government that makes the decision on this matter.

The subsequent intervention of Felipe Gonzalez in the lower chamber, reaffirming the position of his cabinet, has not changed the results of the election of delegates. Nonetheless, in some of the provinces, groups of anti-NATO "officialists" have decided to allow their members the right to vote.

## Redondo Against

In some sectors aligned with the "officialist" group there is, nevertheless, disagreement regarding NATO, a subject on which they align themselves with the Socialist Left and with the so-called trade unionists, headed by Nicolas Redondo. So it has happened that in some provinces, sectors considered "guerristas" have supported mandments proposed by the general secretary of the UGT /General Union of Workers/ against NATO.

Nonetheless, Redondo has hastened to declare that he is not the leader of any anti-NATO movement. "The only thing happening," he said, "is that the group from Vizcaya, to which I belong, maintains the position of defending Spain's withdrawal from the Atlantic Alliance, and I remain faithful to this idea as well as to the resolution by the congress of the UGT."

9907

CSO: 3548/42

## RISKS OF THE WEST'S REALISTIC VIEW ON CYPRUS

Athens | KATHIMERINI in Greek 14 Nov 84 p 5

/Editorial: "Q.E.D., But..."/

/Text/ We must frankly say that the statement by US Ambassador to Ankara Straus-Huppe that his country "will not press Turkey to make concessions on the Cypriot issue" and that "the US will increase its aid to Turkey" has the quality of candor and contributes to a clarification of the situation and prospects of the Cypriot problem and its development--at least in the short run.

It is much better to know the realities of a given problem, no matter how unpleasant they may be, so one can act accordingly and within the limits of what is possible, instead of having illusions which lead to erroneous assessments and, therefore, to erroneous policies, reactions, and views.

We are not going to express here a value judgment--which would be naive and disorienting. International relations--and politics in general--are not matters of sentimental ideas, ethical judgments or...esthetic preferences. They are matters of interest and correlation of forces. This is true for everyone and always, regardless of ideologies, colors or dogmas. The statement of the American ambassador comes to underline and light--one more time--a reality which this column has often mentioned and which should not escape us.

Twice in the last 10 days (3 and 7 November 1984) we underlined in this column that the totally negative and uncompromising stand of the Turkish side, which caused the failure of the first two rounds of proximity talks in New York, is due to the absence of political will on its side to find any solution to the Cypriot problem beyond the consolidation and legitimization, as much as possible, of the accomplished facts, that is, of the de facto situation prevailing today on the island.

Turkey (because that's what we are talking about) has no reason to move away from this position or from its ambitions and intentions regarding Cyprus since it has not received and is not receiving any decisive pressure to do so by those strong factors in the international arena, both East and West, on which it depends and fears and which are in a position to be listened

to in Ankara. Even if these factors wanted a generally acceptable solution for Cyprus--something which is not at all certain in the present condition and in conjunction with their most basic and general objectives, prospects and plans in the Middle and Messopotamia--they would not move ahead with real pressure on Turkey; because real pressure would result in a reduction of the Turkish potential.

But this would conflict with the way the West (and especially the US) views the position and role Turkey plays in this area--a position and role which have been upgraded (in the eyes of both East and West) after the developments and upheavals in the Middle East and Central West Asia in the last 6 years.

With regard to the other superpower /Russia/ we must say that on the one hand it does not have a decisive voice in this entire area and on the other the only thing it wishes for is to have any kind of a solution which would leave the impression of an "independent" state although in effect partitioned or under Turkish control. Beyond that, both superpowers declare that they support the Cuellar initiative although it is hard to understand what this "support" really means...

This is the "reality" of this problem. The position of the powerful of this world--especially of those who have the most influence in this area--is presented as realistic. It is justified by the argument that, taking into consideration the importance of the interests which are at stake, they cannot "sacrifice the more important for the less important."

It is still necessary in the final analysis, however, to find out to what extent (or under what conditions) is this stand realistic. Because to let this unsolved problem continue--especially if there were any attempt to move even one step beyond the present dividing line of Cyprus--it would have explosive consequences leading even to a conflagration between Turkey and Hellenism, which would go far beyond the geographic limits of the area and affect (negatively for the West) the entire correlation of forces on the international level.

7520  
CSO: 3521/76

## ESTABLISHED PARTIES LEAVE LITTLE ROOM FOR GREENS

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Nov 84 p 32

[Article by Kari Huhta: "Traditions Support Greens in Denmark"]

[Text] Longing for the rustic, idyllic life is strong despite industrialization and city living. Many consider the bicyclists' alliance the most powerful environmental organization.

Copenhagen--Most of Denmark's political parties are in their own opinion very green, and this suits the Danish conservation activists just fine. The conservationists do not have their own party. Attempts to establish one have failed miserably.

"The main reason is that the ministry for environmental protection was formed in 1972, the second or third in the world," says former Environment Minister Erik Holst, the leader of environmental issues for the Social Democrats, who are in the opposition.

The same course of action is followed in Denmark's active popular movement OOA--the Danish acronym means Organization for Enlightenment about Nuclear Power--which opposes nuclear power. Lena Warrer, who works in the organization's Copenhagen office, believes that the creation of Mogens Glistrup's Progress Party, which has specialized in the tax revolution, was seen as a warning that the parties must listen to popular movements.

"It's better to instruct the existing politicians in the Green concept," thinks, in turn, Michael Nielsem, a Danish activist in the international organization of conservationists, Greenpeace.

Denmark's circumstances are suitable to the birth of powerful environmental movements. The country is densely populated, industrialized and small in comparison with the other Nordic lands. The concept of a green rural landscape embellished with thatched-roof farmhouses and vacationing in the heart of nature, on sand dunes, alongside clean water, belongs to the national legacy. Bicycles are also a part of that legacy.

The setting has given rise to Denmark's nature alliance, the oldest environmental organization, which is active in spite of its somewhat middle-aged and

middle-class character. Another product is Denmark's bicyclists' alliance, which despite its limited sphere of activity is Denmark's most powerful environmental organization, in the opinion of some people.

Only the bicycle alliance is able in the spring to gather tens of thousands of Danes for a procession, a bicycle procession of course, into downtown Copenhagen. The alliance can take pride in the fact that not a single Danish motorist in full possession of his senses dares to honk his horn at a bicyclist riding in the middle of the street.

Numerous organizations, for example, the peace movement and the opponents of nuclear power, maintain contacts, but keeping the organizations separate is seen as an advantage, not a drawback.

"It's more difficult to have the same opinion about everything," argues Lena Warrer, who explains the OOA's activity together with a second activist, Per Faurby.

The OOA activists have no titles--there are no chairmen or secretaries in the organization. There are altogether seven offices in different parts of Denmark. Funds are obtained as small contributions from private individuals, sometimes from trade unions, but never from political parties. The organization has had a significant role in the fact that there are no nuclear power plants in Denmark.

The OOA was born in January of 1974 in direct response to the designation of construction sites for nine nuclear power plants in Denmark. The construction decision was considered at that time purely administrative, not political, but the swiftly born popular movement has brought about one postponement after the other. Today the appearance of a nuclear power plant in Denmark is very unlikely.

The majority of Danes oppose nuclear power, and the ranks are split in the minority government. The Christian People's Party, whose representative, Christian Christiansen, is at this moment minister of environment, has deserted to the majority side on this issue.

The issue has been difficult for Denmark's largest party, the Social Democrats, who are in the opposition. The party, which was badly split over the question of joining the European Community, has wanted to avoid an internal squabble about nuclear power, but its standpoints have gradually become more negative. The Social Democrats were responsible for running the government when the plans for nuclear power were getting under way.

According to former Environment Minister Erik Holst, the party's current stand--nuclear power is unacceptable "with the technology we now have"--leaves the door open for the use of fusion energy, if that ever becomes opportune.

Since nuclear power has been rebuffed in Denmark, a question comes up: what use is there for an organization which opposes nuclear power? Lena Warrer and Per Faurby admit that the future must be pondered but point out that, despite everything, there is in a way a nuclear power plant in Denmark. The Swedish power plant Barseback, namely, is located only a short distance from Copenhagen, and an accident which occurs there could also spread pollutants to Denmark.

### Own Program of Alternatives

The OOA discusses Barseback and other mutual problems with the Swedish popular movement that opposes nuclear power. Alienation from political parties also extends beyond the borders; bonds have not been created with Sweden's Environment Party.

Another, more far-reaching task has been the preparation and dissemination of alternative energy programs. In the program prepared last year, aim is taken at a situation in which most of Denmark's electrical energy would be created by natural gas and wind power. Polluting coal power would have only a small role, whereas 90 percent of Denmark's electricity now comes from coal-fired plants.

There is no reason for Denmark's other environmental organizations to have the same kind of identity crisis as the OOA. Although many other environmental issues, in addition to nuclear power, have become political bones of contention and election topics, equally clear-cut solutions have not been found for them. Greenpeace in Denmark concentrates at this moment on keeping track of industrial emissions, reports Michael Nielsen. He is the organization's deputy chairman in Denmark and coordinates the international campaign against whaling.

Nielsen stresses that Greenpeace is an international organization of direct action and does not have the same kind of local activity as many other conservation organizations. For example, local initiatives are expected in the prevention of chemical pollutants, but Greenpeace is nevertheless ready to arrange the same type of demonstrations with which it has received worldwide publicity in the prevention of, for instance, whale hunting, nuclear testing and the burial of nuclear fuel in the sea.

12327

CSO: 3617/33



## PERSONNEL CHANGES COMPLICATE FDP PROSPECTS

## National Level Apprehension

Bonn RHEINISCHER MERKUR/CHRIST UND WELT in German 16 Nov 84 p 5

[Article by Walter Bajohr, domestic politics editorial staff member: "Then the last Liberal Will Turn Out the Lights"]

[Text] The furrowed brow of FDP chairman Hans Dietrich Genscher has a few more wrinkles now. At the very moment when the badly shaken FDP was about to overcome its paralysis one of the party's great hopes cashed in his chips. Juergen Morlok, the Land chairman of the FDP for Baden-Wurttemberg and deputy national chairman of the party, announced last week to the complete surprise of the party and a no less surprised public that he was relinquishing all of his party posts.

Up to that point no one except a handful of his closest advisers knew anything about the plans of 39 year-old Morlok who is said to have reached the decision to quit political life as long ago as last April. Malicious gossip has it that Baden-Wurttemberg's CDU Minister President Lothar Spaeth "bought out" the quick-witted liberal so as to rid himself of the FDP as an "unwelcome drain on the electorate" by stages. The fact is that Morlok will take over as general manager of the Baden-Wurttemberg Land Development Corporation (LEG).

## Drop in Confidence in Liberals' Bastion

He made this move [Morlok said] because he could no longer see himself as a professional politician for the rest of his life. He might instead have said 'now no longer' because a summons to Bonn might well have altered his plans. For a time, one may assume, he thought he might succeed Otto Graf Lambsdorff as minister of economics. But both that race and the one for the job of party chairman was decided otherwise by Genscher—in favor of beaming heavyweight Martin Bangemann. When the liberals did poorly in the Landtag elections held in the liberal "bastion" in early spring (obtaining only 7.2 percent of the vote, which was far less than the FDP expected in Baden-Wurttemberg) Morlok came to realize that neither he himself, nor his party could expect to go anywhere soon and that that would remain so for some time to come.



The FDP bosses in Bonn are somewhat less than happy about the fact that the party is suffering from a kind of personnel fatigue which turns all tinkering with the FDP image into a zero publicity enterprise involving a group of nobodys. In the aftermath of the unsavory debates at the FDP party congress in Muenster Genscher told his regional party chiefs last summer that "individuals must serve as the rallying point for the various social groups to hitch their wagon to our party."

But even then there already were clear indications that the rejuvenation of FDP personnel which had been called for by the rank-and-file was a two-edged sword. On the one hand, there is a chance to get the tired old party going again with a group of new faces; but on the other hand, the FDP does not have the kind of convincing young politicians who might actually replace the old standard bearers such as Genscher, Lambsdorff and Wolfgang Misch-nick.

In Baden-Wuerttemberg, it is going to be difficult to say the least to find a replacement for Morlok. Hinrich Enderlein, a man who still grieves for the socialist-liberal era and is still opposed to the new coalition, can at best be assigned the job of FDP fraction chairman in the Stuttgart Landtag—which, in fact, is the job he is going to get. But the FDP would be sending the wrong signal, if he were given the job of Land party chairman. The feverish search for a presentable candidate finally turned up the parliamentary state secretary in the ministry of agriculture in Bonn. This, in itself, is evidence of the fact that the FDP personnel picture is quite depressing. To be sure, Georg Gallus is an agricultural expert respected by one and all and he has also occupied a position toward the right end of the FDP spectrum for years; but many liberals find it hard to picture Gallus as chief of the Land organization—a man who has always been quarrelsome and has a rather shrill voice.

#### Many Do Not Want to Go to the Provinces

General secretary Helmut Haussmann, also a man from the southwest, said no at the outset; he feels his future lies in Bonn. Irmgard Adam-Schwaetzer, who held the job before him and now is national treasurer of the FDP, declined an offer to head the FDP ticket for the North Rhine-Westphalian Landtag elections in place of unpopular Juergen Moelleman. Instead, Achim Rohde, who is completely unknown in North Rhine-Westphalia, was chosen to head the ticket. In the other Laender, things do not look much brighter. By this time, the FDP is represented in only five of the Land parliaments (including Berlin) at any event. But has anyone heard of them; does anyone know their names?

The Young Liberals—the party's youth organization which is to supply the talent for the top slots sometime in the future—have not been in business long enough. To be sure, it seems as though a chic technocratic guild is

being spawned there which may be able to plug into the new middle class voting population and the upwardly mobile generation swept along by technological progress—both of which will be important to the FDP in the future. But what will happen in the interim? "Politics is made by people," Guido Westerwelle, chairman of the Young Liberals, says succinctly. But the party is short of people. Being as small as it is, the party moves ambitious people up very quickly but in the process quite a few lightweights make it to the top as well.

Wolfgang Gerhardt, the FDP chairman for Hesse, is in line for Morlok's old job of deputy to the party chairman Genscher. Gerhardt is a man who may move on to even bigger things at some later date. Genscher at least thinks a great deal of him; but the party chief himself has only a few months to go before relinquishing the chairman's job in favor of Martin Bangemann, the successor he himself has chosen. But there are already rumors making the rounds which have it that Bangemann is playing the coalition game so well as minister of economics that he no longer has the inside track because the party is benefitting from his achievements less than it feels it should. But if Genscher sticks to his decision to give up the party chairmanship—a decision by now regretted by many—there simply is no alternative to Bangemann.

Can Bangemann provide the FDP with a real future? He will have to deal with a trend which manifested itself most recently in Lower Saxony where still another FDP hopeful turned his back on the party. Prof Hans Ludwig Freytag, a deputy from Oldenburg, switched to the CDU, citing some rather telling reasons. The FDP, he said, "has lost its foundation;" it is split and is in the midst of a "phase of self-laceration. Organized FDP liberalism no longer has a chance in the future." The last one out may turn off the lights.

#### Baden-Wurttemberg Surprise Loss

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 16 Nov 84 pp 14-15

[Article by Joerg Bischoff datelined Stuttgart: "Spaeth's Calculations Worked Out"]

[Text] In his government declaration delivered after the Landtag election last March, Baden-Wurttemberg's Minister President Lothar Spaeth said: "We intend to transform the Land Development Corporation into an organization devoted to bringing in industry and improving the infrastructure." Now, 5 months after the fact, it has become evident what the real purpose behind the buildup of the once rather sedate Land-owned homebuilding authority was. "That was the bait," CDU Land officials are now saying maliciously. "But he did not have to rise to it," says Wolfgang Weng, an FDP deputy to the Bundestag.

The "he" in question is FDP Land and fraction chairman Juergen Morlok who has been feeding from the public trough since his fledgling days as a politician. After 8 years of consolidating his position at the head of the FDP in Baden-Wurttemberg; after some exhausting campaigns which turned out poorly (with the party gaining between seven and nine percent of the vote) and after some painful battles in connection with the "turnaround" in Bonn, 39 year-old economist Morlok from Karlsruhe wished to have a regular job at long last. And so only a few days went by before Morlok made an appointment with Lothar Spaeth, his adversary during the campaign. The Land Development Corporation job "interests me," Morlok told his close personal friend Spaeth.

Lothar Spaeth, who had had to defend his absolute majority against three parties this time, was so delighted by the success of his fishing expedition that he started talking just a few days after Morlok applied for the job. "The FDP here in the Land can only be pushed down below the 5-percent threshold, if we get Morlok out of his job," Spaeth told his CDU cronies triumphantly. "And that is exactly what I am about to do now."

To be sure, the Baden-Wurttemberg CDU has some practice in ways of taking over entire political parties by means of personal enticement. 20 years ago, CDU strategist Klaus Scheufele promised both a seat and a voice in the Stuttgart cabinet to the North Wurttemberg representatives of the old refugee party BHE (Association of Refugees and the Disenfranchised) on condition that they dissolve their party and run their candidates on the CDU slate instead. The agreement worked and thus the first step was taken toward the CDU's obtaining the absolute majority in the Southwest in the 1972 election.

Following that 1972 Landtag election in which Hans Filbinger obtained the absolute majority, the CDU made a first attempt to apply similar pressure to the FDP. Guntram Palm, who once had figured as Reinhold Maier's heir apparent, left the FDP and switched to the CDU. He now is finance minister in the CDU Land government.

No sooner had Morlok sent his leading party friends a special delivery letter last week telling them that he would quit his job as party chairman and fraction chief of the 8,000 FDP party members and eight Landtag deputies by the end of the year at the latest than Spaeth's calculations began to bear fruit. "Now it will be shown that FDP unity was not as solid as had always been assumed," said Prof Ralf Dahrendorf, who had publicly stood by and advised the Southwest liberals during the difficult days of the Bonn "turnover" in particular.

Dahrendorf was to be proven right. What has come out into the open in the Baden-Wurttemberg FDP in the very few days since Morlok's announcement amounts to a good deal more than the customary wars of succession. The

party is now making up for the dispute about the "turnover" which Morlok was able to keep within limits until now. But now the new middle class wing of the party and the old leftwing liberals are fighting it out. There is hardly a single instrument of torture in the FDP stock room that has not been dragged out again, dusted off and brought out on stage in the aftermath of the Morlok decision. Even the private life of some heirs apparent has been subjected to scrutiny and innuendo.

For all that, both Morlok and FDP General Secretary Helmut Haussmann had carefully worked out the political testament in order to forestall such disputes between the two wings of the party, if at all possible. The party chairmanship was to be taken over by Georg Gallus, 57, state secretary in the ministry of agriculture in Bonn, a long-time drill sergeant from the rural wing of the Baden-Wurttemberg FDP. The fraction chairmanship was to be assumed by Hinrich Enderlein, 43, from Tuebingen who had already served the FDP under Karl Moersch and Martin Bangemann—no matter whether official policy called for a coalition with the SPD or the CDU or for an "open-ended approach" to the coalition issue. Patterned after the World War I Schlieffen Plan, the battle lines were to be drawn even before the wings had time to assemble their forces. But Schlieffen's dictum of "strengthen the right wing for me" was not what Morlok had in mind. Only 1 day after Morlok had sent his letter of resignation, the fraction chose Enderlein as its new chairman at the private home of Friedrich Haag, a member of the fraction and a master gardener. And 3 days later, the Land executive board approved the selection of Gallus as Land party chairman.

The purpose behind the package was that the center-left coalition which commands a slight majority at party congresses but not among the voters would get the Landtag fraction through the appointment of Enderlein while Gallus, whose job as state secretary would tie him down in Bonn, took over the party chairmanship as a sop to the old-time liberals but would be carefully watched by a number of deputies.

But the middle class wing of the party which at this very juncture was able to point to fairly good election results in rural areas even as the voters were deserting the leftwing liberal doctors and teachers in the cities saw through the "putsch from above," as one district chairman put it. What the FDP needed, said former Bundestag deputy Rita Fromm in Karlsruhe, was a "young, dynamic and creative" chairman. For another thing, the FDP was called upon "not to fall short of a certain level of excellence" in the selection of its chairman. Those on the right are only too well aware of the fact that their rivals inside the party agreed to Gallus' selection because of his weakness as a leader. Morlok and Haussmann both feel that the Baden-Wurttemberg FDP cannot be led in the post-Morlok era except from the two wings unless the old-time liberals who have been in the ascendancy in the aftermath of the Bonn "turnaround" are given the majority. To be sure, the middle class cannot as yet offer any really viable alternative to Gallus. For starters, they have nominated 30 year-

old Waiter Doering, a secondary school teacher and the party's district chairman for Schwaebisch-Hall. The only political reputation Doering has up to now is being a namesake of Wolfram Doering, a leftwing liberal of the Adenauer era who once said that the FDP was "a bourgeois party no longer." The next few months will show whether the FDP can still be a genuine political force in the one-time bastion of southwest liberalism. At this point in any event it appears that Spaeth's scheme is coming up roses.

#### Unexpected Southwest Party Leader

Munich SUEDEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG in German 14 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Wulf Reimer, editorial staff member, datelined Stuttgart 13 Nov 84: "Imagination In Case of a Fall"]

[Text] Anyone suggesting to the southwest German liberals a few months or even just a week ago that the Land party chairmanship would go to [Georg] Gallus would have been told he was not in his right mind. But now that Juergen Morlok has relinquished all his party functions, old-time liberal Gallus, a likable oddball with a squawky voice, suddenly appears to have the inside track to succeed Morlok as FDP Land party chairman. It was Olaf Feldmann, a Bundestag deputy from Baden-Baden, who came up with a surprisingly simple explanation for the amazingly rapid political metamorphosis which turned Gallus from an also-ran into a hopeful. The reason why people were so surprised by this selection, Feldmann announced shortly before midnight in the lobby of the Stuttgart Landtag building, was "because they always underestimate how much imagination can be mustered when the situation calls for it." That, of course, is one way of putting it.

However that may be, the Baden-Wuerttemberg FDP did not have much time to use its imagination. Morlok's announcement last Thursday of his intention to opt for a career change at the age of 39 and his plans to assume the post of managing director of the Land Development Corporation for City Planning and Home Construction on the first of the year took even some of his closest advisers completely by surprise. Three unsuspecting FDP Landtag deputies were caught flatfooted by the announcement while on a visit to BASF in Ludwigshafen; they had left home early that morning before Morlok's letter could reach them.

By Monday evening, however, when the Land executive committee, augmented by the FDP members of the Bundestag and the Landtag, met in the Haussmann Hall of the Landtag to decide on a successor, the initial anger over the external circumstances of Morlok's withdrawal had all but vanished. In fact, there was hardly any sign any longer of the irritation which Morlok's move (with Spaeth's help) to a Land-owned enterprise and the resultant, rapid repercussions it had on the FDP personnel picture in Bonn had caused. Those who attended the 4-hour meeting uniformly called the atmosphere fair and objective. A statement issued after the meeting said that the gather-



ing had "unanimously commended Morlok for many years of successful leadership of the Land party." The members of the Land executive committee, the statement went on to say, had shown "complete understanding and respect for Dr Morlok's personal decision." It was "unanimously decided" that a new Land party chairman should be elected at the 5 January 1985 party congress who "convincingly represents liberal principles both inside and outside the party." The Land executive committee was "unanimously" pleased about the fact that three candidates had already declared their availability: Dr Walter Doering; Georg Gallus and Hans-Joerg Stuetzel, from Aalen.

But by this late evening hour the race for the chairmanship was nowhere near as undecided as this bland statement by the Land executive committee seemed to suggest. While alert, 30 year-old FDP district chairman Walter Doering from Schwaebisch-Hall was still telling the journalists waiting outside that he was the "new head" the Baden-Wurtemberg FDP badly needed—having just dropped down to just four percent among young voters—Gallus, a farmer and currently parliamentary state secretary in the ministry of agriculture in Bonn, had already won the race hands down.

If for no other reason than that ambitious school teacher Doering, who was moved up through the party ranks by former finance minister Hermann Mueller, does not have the necessary organization, experience or recognition (only Aalen city councilman Stuetzel is less known throughout the Land) Gallus, a hardheaded Swabian from Hattenhofen may look forward to the 5 January election with equanimity. For another thing, Gallus has the support of General Secretary Helmut Haussmann who would have been the favorite to succeed Morlok, if he had chosen to run.

One can tell just by looking at the 57 year-old agricultural engineer who fights it out with like emotion with both the "reds" and the "blacks" that now that he has unexpectedly gotten an opportunity—after so many years of hard labor inside the party—to get his hands on a bit of liberal power however small, he will grab it. He campaigned for 18 years until he finally made it into the Bundestag (as Ralf Dahrendorf's successor in 1970) and now he told the Land executive committee he would only withdraw his candidacy, if someone threw his hat in the ring who he thought could do a better job.

But that is something Gallus himself does not seem to think will happen. Given the shape his party is in, he would view it as "cowardice"—which is one of his favorite metaphors—if he did not make himself available for the post. He would even take over the chairmanship, he says, if he were elected with just one vote to spare. "I am not too squeamish in that regard," he adds, "because throughout my life I have had to fight hard to get the posts I wanted." So now the FDP knows what's what. And as far as a possible conflict between his duties in Bonn and in Stuttgart is concerned also tells it like it is to his party friends. Until

now, he says, he did a lot for the party at the national level; but if he is elected, that will change. "I will not do the dirty work for the others and leave my own Land organization in the lurch. That is out of the question!"

One question does remain: how will the new FDP Land executive committee (Hausmann, Hinrich Enderlein and South Baden Landtag deputy Ernst Pfister are given the best chances of winning the three deputy chairmanships) and the new leadership of the Landtag fraction headed by Enderlein get along with one another—with liberal conservative Gallus in charge of the one body and leftwing liberal Enderlein in charge of the other? Does this arrangement have political friction preprogrammed into it? Minister of Economics Bangemann interjected on Monday evening: "You can always bring me in to balance things out." That half-loud suggestion is said to have cleared the air a bit.

9478

CSO: 3620/134

## MINORITY COMMUNISTS RESIST CONTROL BY MODERATES

## Majority Parallel Organization in Lahti

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Nov 84 p 15

[Article: "Own Organization for Communist Majority in Lahti Also"]

[Text] Lahti--In the next few weeks, majority faction members of the 13 party divisions which operate in the Lahti district of the Finnish Communist Party (SKP) will begin party work in an area directed by a party committee which relies on the party's current leadership.

The majority faction divisions are supposed to establish a committee on 9 December. According to the work group in charge of the project, a party committee is being established because the minority district organization in Lahti has repudiated the resolutions of the SKP's 20th Congress.

The committee will become an organization for directing party work in accordance with SKP bylaws, and it is expected to strengthen SKP activity in South Hame, the work group says.

Members of the majority faction have begun to operate in nearly all eight of the minority's districts, and the goal is to establish the first district organizations by the middle of December in the Turku and Uusimaa districts as competitors of the minority organizations.

## Minority's Sinisalo Vows Resistance

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Nov 84 p 8

[Article: "Minority Threatens SKP Majority with Dissolution"]

[Text] A meeting of the communist minority faction is presenting a number of demands to the party's majority. According to its leader, Taisto Sinisalo, the minority is trying to do all it can to oppose "disruptive activity" or prevent the majority from establishing new parallel organizations.

The Sinisalo minority and representatives of eight minority districts and nine circulation departments of TIEDONANTAJA met on Saturday in Helsinki at Koitto House. Contrary to previous joint meetings, several official statements were released at this one.



In a "plea to all party comrades" the minority faction members as usual made an appeal on behalf of solidarity and called for the "arrangement of an extraordinary congress on party unity."

The Sinisalo backers began to push for a new congress immediately in connection with last May's congress, when Arvo Aalto was elected new chairman of the SKP. At the same congress, the Sinisalo supporters were left off the Central Committee and did not participate in preparations for the congress they demanded.

The Central Committee which meets in December hints that the congress the Sinisalo supporters have demanded will be held in March. At the meeting in December, the Central Committee may also approve the establishment of new district organizations. New organizations for the Turku and Uusimaa districts are in the planning stage.

The minority districts have been gearing up for the congress, and it is considered possible that in an extreme case the situation could lead to a clear split in the party.

#### New Meeting at Koitto House

The majority faction sees the minority intimidating it by calling its own congress and threatening dissolution of the party. But the majority also feels that the minority could finally drive itself into a corner where it won't be able to turn around the way it has in previous years.

The party's dissolution could take place if the minority stays away from the congress and convenes its own.

On Saturday the minority took a tougher stand: it will not come to the congress if even one parallel organization founded by the majority is present.

The minority also announced that it will get together again after the central committee's meeting in December. The date was thought to be early in January.

Representatives from the minority districts referred to Arvo Aalto at several points in the statement of their position. For example:

"The narrow faction led by Arvo Aalto strives to thwart fulfillment of the membership's wish and to distort the initiative for a unifying congress by attempting to impose its 'majority' stamp on the congress and by intrigues involving disruptive organizations and members who exist only on paper," alleged the position statement.

Minority faction members encouraged people to demand--via delegations and position statements--the cancellation of resolutions which aim at dissolution. TIEDONANTAJA also made a spirited statement according to which the newspaper is "an important weapon in the struggle on behalf of the SKP's unity and course of action."

The absorption of TIEDONANTAJA into the rest of the communist press--or in fact the discontinuance of the newspaper--was one of the majority's most important demands when attempts were made to bring about unity before the last congress. The minority, however, did not consent.

Minority circles soundly and explicitly criticized the budget agreement which Finance Minister Ahti Pekkala (Center Party) negotiated with the SKDL [Finnish People's Democratic League] in the Parliament.

Hentila Cites 'Paralyzing Disputes'

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 18 Nov 84 p 11

[Article: "Jorma Hentila Says SKP Will Not Become Home of Ideas for Socialists"]

[Text] In the opinion of editor-in-chief Jorma Hentila, former first secretary of the organization, the SKDL should develop by deliberately dissociating itself from the disputes paralyzing the Communist Party. According to Hentila, the changes which occurred in the SKP leadership have not eliminated the problems which are linked to the party's organizational form and intellectual constraints.

The SKP is by nature authoritarian, ruled from above and unsuited to ideas of autonomy, as the party's first secretary has also stated. The SKP is committed to an interpretation of Marxism-Leninism which has nothing new to offer for research on an advanced industrial capitalist society, said Hentila, who spoke in Rovaniemi on Saturday.

Hentila considered intellectual and political factors--not ones involving technical organization--to be decisive for the SKDL's future. It is also impossible to see how the SKP could become an intellectual and political home for socialists and other people's democrats outside it, according to Hentila.

12327

CSO: 3617/34

## DETAILS ON WASHINGTON EMBASSY OFFICIAL'S POLITICAL REPORT

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 7

[Excerpts] The Papandreou government admitted yesterday that what has been published is correct concerning the report-scandal of the former air attache in Washington, Brigadier Makedos, in which he offends and coarsely insults Greek Americans and the USA. New Democracy demanded his immediate removal and public reprimand.

In essence, the government spokesman admitted ambiguously (after a 3-hour conference at the Pentagon, chaired by Mr. Papandreou) that "the report exists," but that VRADYNI published "portions out of context with the result of changing and distorting the meaning and the entire point of the paper."

It is pointed out that, while on the one hand, the government was trying to downplay the seriousness of the brigadier's action, on the other hand, it sought the prosecution of the newspaper through GEETHA [National Defense General Staff] on the grounds of espionage!

According to reliable sources of AKROPOLIS, Brigadier Makedos returned to Greece from Washington the middle of this past August. After his return, he prepared his report in which he expressed his thoughts and views on Greek Americans, world policy and strategy of the USA and other matters ...

And although, as would have been natural for the above-mentioned officer to concern himself with matters within his jurisdiction, he, on the contrary;

First, insulted and slandered Greek Americans;

Second, he became involved in matters that are clearly the responsibility and jurisdiction of the government;

Third, he took positions that can create problems in Greek-American relations.

#### The Report

In essence, the brigadier wrote in his report on the Greeks in America:

"In addition to this, they (the Greek Americans) subordinated their interests

directly to the corresponding ones of American capitalism and they often become hostile to some efforts of nationalization in the fatherland, becoming, of course, interpreters of American interests and of determined capitalism.

"In their political expressions, either because they have been completely brain-washed or because of self-interest, they present themselves as worshipers of cold-war militarism and express an unacceptable fascist mentality that outdoes the corresponding American one."

In continuing, the high-ranking Air Force officer calls part of the Greeks in America "paid agents of the various American services" and emphasizes:

"In general, they are people who move in church, association, community, etc. circles, the embassy and consulate environment not to be excluded, and at the receptions that take place in the homes of the Greek mission personnel. These people can be characterized as being dangerous.

"Unfortunately, the above-mentioned constitute the so-called 'lobby.' In my view, a lobby of this type is the worst of its kind and becomes dangerous. Bearing in mind that, on the one hand, their influence is directed at the legislative organs of the US and, on the other hand, that the decisions are made by other powers, the real advantage we receive is questionable."

Greece-USA

The Air Force officer wrote the following regarding Greek-American relations and US policy:

"The strong interest for the control of the countries of the Mediterranean is set in the context of an overall imperialist strategic-geopolitical effort by the USA to create a territorial encirclement of the Soviet Union.

"The Americans, unable to accept any attempt towards independence by the country and under the morbid anti-communism they generate that makes them unable to distinguish the difference between communism and socialism, have taken a negative position against our government. They would be happy if they could overthrow today's reality in Greece or to change its present orientation ... The financial war in cooperation with the native establishment and the slandering lies about our country among the American and Greek American public continue."

Brigadier Makedos, in continuing, remarks, "The pressure we will experience from our neighbor--Turkey--will become unbearable unless our position in the world-wide constants changes."

Political Scandal

The brigadier's action--all political observers remark--constitutes a political scandal of the first magnitude whose responsibility is to be charged to the Papandreou government. First, because Brigadier Makedos was an individual chosen by it. Second, because his action reveals how the men of the Papandreou government perceive and carry out their duties.

### The Persecution

A criminal prosecution, unprecedented in its severity, was initiated yesterday-- at the instigation of GEETbA--against the editors of the VRADYNI newspaper, who are already accused of espionage and are threatened with life in prison terms or the death penalty.

The action which was taken yesterday noon by the Athens district attorney goes beyond the narrow judicial context and takes on political dimensions creating a series of questions and doubts.

### The Accusations

Based on the GEETbA document, the district attorney, Mr. Stamos, initiated a criminal prosecution:

For violation of State secrets against an unknown person who transmitted the document to VRADYNI;

For espionage against the editors of VRADYNI.

9731

CSO: 3521/85

## PAPANDREOU'S ARAB RELATIONS SEEN NATIONALLY PERILOUS

Athens 1 KATHIMERINI in Greek 10 Nov 84 pp 1, 3

/Excerpt/ The meetings of Premier A. Papandreou with the representatives of factions--Druze and Palestinian--during his visit to Syria, raise a series of questions about their objectives while the danger of embroiling Greece in the internal feuds of the Arabs increases.

Moreover, once again the Greek government has undertaken the initiative to present the views of a pro-Soviet Arab country to the leaders of the EEC member-countries.

According to a report of the Athens Press Agency /APE/ from Damascus, A. Papandreou met yesterday afternoon with the leader of the Druze Moslems, the chairman of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon Walid Jumlat. Nothing on the subject discussed by the two men was reported until late in the evening.

Papandreou's decision to meet the leader of one faction in Lebanon has already created a very bad impression among foreign observers because it was a practical downgrading of Lebanon's central government which the Western countries, without exception, are trying to shore up.

With Palestinians, Too

The same APE dispatch made reference to reports that Palestinian leaders "tied to Syria, such as Naif Hautme, formally asked for a meeting with the Greek premier."

Alternate Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias confirmed the report but said that such a meeting will depend on the premier's available time. Until late last night it was not known if the meeting took place.

Reliable observers regard as particularly dangerous any involvement in the Palestinian quarrels, especially after the recent statement of Yaser Arafat, the chairman of the PLO, on the need to have a meeting of the PLO National Council before the end of November in an effort to strengthen his position.

It is noted that Syria absolutely prohibited the Palestinian organizations it controls from taking part in the Algeria meeting called by neutral Palestinian factions trying to bridge the rift in the ranks of the Palestinian fighting groups.

#### The Bulgarian Involvement

Surprise and a bad impression was created among diplomatic and financial circles by a paragraph in the same APE dispatch, saying that the subject of the railroad ferryboat from Volos to Latakia is now regarded by both sides as "ripe" and it was agreed "to implement as soon as possible a meeting of technical experts with the participation of Bulgaria following the expression of interest personally by Bulgarian president Todor Zivkov."

As noted in the APE report, the significance of this project lies in the fact that the ferry will connect Europe with the Middle East and Asia and that EEC had also expressed interest.

However, according to well-informed circles, the announced participation of Bulgaria in the Volos-Latakia railroad-ferryboat may discourage investors from the EEC member-states because the West European intelligence services suspect that East European countries move arms and ammunition through this line to the Middle East to destabilize the pro-Western Arab regimes.

Noting the political aspects of the Volos-Latakia line, the APE report emphasized that 70-80 percent of the trade between Europe and the Middle East is moved over land through Turkey.

Reliable observers believe, however, that the movement of trade through Turkey takes place primarily because since the time Syria closed its border with Iraq the only route to the Middle East is through Turkey.

7520

CSO: 3521/70

## KARAMANLIS' ALLEGED CONDITIONS FOR CANDIDACY REVEALED

Athens TO ETHNOS TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 18 Nov 84 p 5

/Article by Andonis Kalamaras: "Wish for a President of Common Acceptance" /

/Text/ We are now in a position to reveal the three conditions set by Kon. Karamanlis for his re-election to the Presidency: both PASOK and ND should agree to nominate him; both should declare this publicly; the parties should leave him out of their partisan contest.

Today's revelation by TO ETHNOS TIS KYRIAKIS is based on information whose validity no denial can reduce.

We further reveal that the terms set by K. Karamanlis are not in conflict with the corresponding views of A. Papandreou. The above reliable information constitutes the conclusion of exchanges for over a month between the two top leaders of our political life. The views of the two men were brought closer together by the responsible recommendations of constitutional law professors who defined the limits which guarantee the smooth functioning of the constitution.

The conditions for the re-election of President K. Karamanlis--so that the still delicate institutions will have time to be consolidated--have been set. The president of the Republic defined the conditions which will affect his decision to again become a candidate.

The premier made his own assessments for the protection of the institutions and the smooth functioning of the constitution.

"Accidentally or not," the Papandreou assessments are very similar to the Karamanlis' criteria. Karamanlis, feeling that he has completed his task, shows every sign that he wishes to leave the presidency in May. But having worries about our national problems and being conscious of the historic blame he will bear if his withdrawal were to set in motion dangerous constitutional disorders, he is very seriously pondering the future. He is asking himself whether he has the right to refuse to continue offering his services, if he is asked to do so.



## The Conditions

Since all sides know that Karamanlis is not going to bargain with the parties on his re-election, the conditions he has set, according to reliable information, form the framework for the president's re-election in general. These conditions which, of course, cover the possibility of his own re-election, are as follows:

First: the two major parties must get together to agree on a common candidate.

Second: the agreement of the two parties on the same person must be declared publicly and solemnly.

Third: both major parties must make every effort to keep the president of the Republic "outside of their partisan and political contest."

## Papandreou

Premier Papandreou has not yet reached final decisions on the election of the president but he, too, has "sufficiently defined" his criteria for the selection of the best solution. TO ETHNOS TIS KYRIAKIS is in a position to know that Papandreou:

First: considers nationally useful the effort to reach agreement on a common candidate by the two major parties.

Second: believes that the president "must be protected in the future" from the political contest of the parties.

## It Was Discussed

It is a fact--despite any possible denial--that the president and the premier discussed the question of the presidency during their last meeting. However, they did not deal with personalities or intentions.

Karamanlis and Papandreou discussed the framework for the work of the president as this is outlined by the constitution. They discussed, in other words, the problem of defining the limits of the president's political intervention.

According to information whose validity no denial can reduce, at this moment the president and the premier have in their possession a report from constitutional experts which "outlines the limits set by the constitution on the issue of political intervention by the president of the Republic." This report was recently handed to the two leaders. In fact it was given to them before their last meeting.

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CS0: 3521/92

## ND LEADER ALLEGEDLY 'PRISONER' OF RIGHT WING

Athens KYRIAKATIKI ELEVTHEROTYPIA in Greek 4 Nov 84 p 9

[Text] Last week ND leader, Konst. Mitsotakis failed in his effort to assert himself in the party and to begin to rid himself of the patronizing by his predecessor, Evang. Averoff, and the ND's Right Wing. This failure was made manifest in the form of an agreement on the ONNED [Youth Organization of the New Democracy] and it prejudices the chances of the so-called "opening to the Center" that Mr. Mitsotakis appears to be seeking in order to broaden the electoral base of his party.

The ONNED is the most direct creation of Mr. Averoff's 3-year leadership of the ND. It is the model of unity of the "nationalists," the reinstatement of the bridge to the Juntist Right from which Mr. Averoff hoped to draw the forces that were to lead him to power. With this policy there were recruited the fascist-like groups of the "Centauris" and the "Rangers" which played a preponderant role in the preelection excesses of the Euroelections in June and gave the cue and color to the actions of the youth of the ND.

Thus, last week when Mr. Mitsotakis tried to replace the leadership of ONNED, he found himself facing not some "extremists of the Exarkheia type"--as he initially characterized those who occupied the organization's offices only to proclaim on the morrow that they were "honest fighters"--but the entire network of the forces that supported Averoff's policy: with his predecessor himself, with a large portion of deputies and the newspapers of the Right, except for KATHIMERINI and MESIMVRINI.

By a strange coincidence, the forces that reacted to the decision of the leader of the ND were the same ones that 2 months ago pushed him into the party leadership. The fact that the newly "designated" ONNED leadership took over its duties in the end is of little significance, first, because, with all that happened in the meantime, it is a captive of the machine that set up the Averoffian duo, V. Mikhalolakos-M. Manolakos, and, what is more significant, because Mr. Mitsotakis was forced to assign, for the preelectoral period, the critical sector of mobilizing the entire party to the, until day before yesterday, second in command of ONNED, who has been denounced as the instigator and organizer of the fascist-like groups.

The 3 days, Wednesday through Friday, are revealing of the situation in which the ND and its leader today find themselves. During that time none of the members of the Political Bureau of the ND interceded to support the decision of Mr. Mitsotakis--they left him to negotiate openly, on the one hand, with the Averoffian duo of the ONNED and, behind the scenes, on the other hand, with Mr. Averoff himself, a retreat as "honorable" as possible. During this negotiation it became perfectly clear that the ND leader does not have forces of his own capable of supporting any of his party or political initiatives. It also became evident that, compared to the Averoff group which was built during the 3 years, there is no other constituted group capable of intervening in the intra-party dealings and opening a front against the far-Right listing of the ND ship. The ND leader himself, prisoner of the Averoff deputies and the extreme rightist machine that gave him the leadership, is ordered to follow the policy of his creators.

This may perhaps be the final fatal mistake of the present ND leader's political career, who, by not having assumed until now the responsibilities of leadership, was surrounded by the myth that at least he had capabilities. His decision to lean on the extreme Right in order to become a leader has led him to greater isolation--greater even than the one brought about by his 1965 defection: the centrists, towards whom he wants to turn, do not trust him; the renewal rightists are not with him and the traditional Right adopts him only as long as he is willing to serve it faithfully. And, Mr. Mitsotakis, after last week's experience, has a minimal margin in refusing the offer of its services. Under his leadership, the ND does not have any choice but to continue on the Averoff course.

9731

CSO: 3521/86

## ND'S MITSOTAKIS' LEADERSHIP QUALITIES QUESTIONED

Athens TA NEA in Greek 26 Oct 84 p 4

/Article by Nikiforos Andonopoulos/

/Excerpt/ We do not know to what extent the "qualities" which made Konstandinos Mitsotakis one of the most-talked about political persons of the last 20 years were those which made the majority of the ND deputies elect him leader of the party.

What is clear at this moment is that before 2 months went by after his election, the alleged qualities of the leader are not evident, neither are they sufficient to solidify his position in the opinion of the party's deputies. We do not know yet how able a politician Mitsotakis may be-- beyond of course his known qualities which made him a master behind the scenes.

The "Grace Period" is Over

What we can say with certainty, as we follow his public activities and listen to what is being said among the ND deputies, is that the grace period is over for the ND leader and the period of questioning his leadership has begun. Finally, we do not know what the deputies expected of Mitsotakis when they voted him as their leader on 1 September.

What is certain is that none of them expected he would disappoint them in such a short time, so that they themselves now openly question his qualities and ask themselves whether they made a historic mistake.

Complete Inability Now

Whatever is happening, the fact remains that Mitsotakis is at the moment completely unable to put whatever mark he wants on his party. This obvious inability is made more evident by certain developments happening within ND.

For example, it is not an accident that Averof is again coming to the forefront issuing "messages", giving speeches, and making statements in his capacity as honorary party chairman. Nor is it an accident that in these statements there is no reference to Mitsotakis who is often surprised by the former leader.

It is not an accident that Averof twice intervened to praise the ND Youth Organization /ONNED/ leadership although it is known that Mitsotakis has declared his intention to replace Mikhaloliakos and Manoliakos with his own men.

It is evident that Averof, methodically promoting a dual scheme in the ND leadership, wishes to make clear to Mitsotakis and also to all those who see the leader as a foreign body in the party, that he is ever present as the guarantor of its continuity, and a vicar over the words and actions of Mitsotakis.

The problems for Mitsotakis grow in number as his effort to prevail in the party goes necessarily through the "break up" of the Averof mechanism which, however, was the one that assured his election to the leadership and assures his stay in it...

Thus, devoid of any support of his own within the party apparatus, he now has to face pressing problems which have become even more acute because of his own wrong moves.

First of all, he faces the strong displeasure of the deputies who want him to clear the question of the "list", which Mitsotakis raised prematurely thereby intensifying the tensions existing within ND.

Second, he has to settle the problem of "expansion" which, in addition to the difficulties arising from the unwillingness of others to join, faces the strong opposition of the ND deputies who, of course, have every reason to dislike the addition of more "foreign bodies" who will come to take their places...

Mitsotakis is reaching his limit as he faces a party mechanism he does not control, with Averof looking over his shoulder, with Boutos taking initiatives which create new problems for Mitsotakis in his relations with the president of the Republic--as for example with Boutos' question in the Europarlament, which in effect is directed against the admission of Spain and Portugal in the EEC--with the upheaval provoked in the branch organizations by "Averof's men;" A. Samaras and V. Kostopoulos who threaten the leader; and with the "renovators" looking for new coalitions while not hiding that for them "the Mitsotakis question remains open;" with the hardliners in ONNED threatening that they will break up everything if their leadership is touched; and with the deputies turning in every direction to assure a place on the lists--and with a host of other problems.

#### His Decline is Inevitable

From this point on, his decline will be inevitable, since whatever move he makes will set in motion a chain reaction which will threaten the fragile balances which continue to form the foundation of the ND party structure. We won't say the countdown has started for Mitsotakis, but it is certain that time is not in his favor.

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CSO: 3521/70

POLITICAL

GREECE

MITOTAKIS' INITIATIVE FOR ND-PASOK COORDINATION ON NATIONAL ISSUES

Athens I KATHIMERINI in Greek 30 Nov 84 p 1

/Excerpts/ Opposition leader K. Mitsotakis is undertaking a serious initiative--in concert with the government--to move forward the efforts for a solution on the issues of Limnos and Cyprus, in a series of contacts he will have next week with Western leaders and with the secretary general of NATO.

In view of these contacts, Mitsotakis was briefed yesterday by the foreign minister on foreign policy issues and more specifically on relations between Greece and NATO and on Cyprus. Following his contacts in Dublin, London and Brussels, Mitsotakis will brief Foreign Minister Kharalambopoulos.

The briefing of the opposition leader was made known by the government spokesman in a formal announcement. But the dimensions of Mitsotakis' initiative were revealed a little later during his regular meeting with the press. Mitsotakis, responding to a question, said that he asked for the briefing in view of his meetings in the aforementioned three European capitals between Tuesday and Friday.

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## NO ADVANTAGE SEEN FOR PASOK, ND FROM CENTER

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 15 Nov 84 pp 1, 7

[Text] 1. I believe it is generally recognized that the key to the selection of the next premier is held by the voters who self-style themselves as being "centrists." If these voters remain faithful to PASOK in the next election, the socialist government will ensure its remaining in power, if not with a parliamentary majority of its own strength, at least with the tolerance of the KKE.

2. The self-styled "centrist" voters, according to impartial polls by irreproachable agencies that were taken prior to the Euro-elections, represent 17.5 percent of the total electorate. The results of the Euro-elections showed that approximately 15.3 percent--that is, almost the totality--voted for the Euro ticket of PASOK.

3. There are sufficient indications that at least one-third of these voters (about 5 percent of the entire electorate) are displeased with PASOK and psychologically ready to give their vote to another party representation. The question is whether these voters (who statistically constitute approximately 12 percent of the 41 percent of PASOK's electoral strength) will move towards the New Democracy. Will the New Democracy be able to win them over by bringing into its ranks well-known cadres of the center? What would be the result of an opening towards the center by the ND? The indications coming from the grass-roots do not leave any doubt that such an incorporation of centrist leaders will not be followed by the going-over to the ND of centrist voters as well in the numbers needed for it to return to power. It would simply tarnish the centrist credentials of those who might join.

4. However, independently of this probable reaction of the centrist voters, the opening towards the center by the ND will lead to destabilizing problems within the party itself. For the centrist leaders to exert some influence, they must be placed in "favorable positions" on the candidates' lists of the ND. But, if the leader of the ND, Mr. Mitsotakis, places a centrist candidate first or second on the ticket of an electoral district (in Messinia, for instance) he will provoke a strong reaction by the other candidates who have fought for years in the ranks of the ND and will, unavoidably, be placed in lower positions on the ticket. If, on the other hand, the centrist candidate is placed low on the ticket, he will probably not accept this down-grading,



but even if he accepts it, his influence on the centrist voters (and his usefulness to the ND) will diminish even more. The openings towards the center are not to Mr. Mitsotakis' advantage because they threaten to shake the cohesion of the New Democracy.

5. The ND openings to the center are not advantageous from an overall national point of view as well. If the New Democracy succeeded in becoming a government by gathering under its party and electoral flag the tremendous majority of the Right and Center--all the anti-Marxist forces--it would open the way to a national anomaly. In a democracy, the alternating of the parties in power is natural and inevitable. But what would happen when the only political formation to replace it is the Marxist Left? Such a polarization would be a national crime.

6. Of course, the intra-party quarrels that the influx of centrist candidates in the ND would engender could be ignored and even the nationally damaging polarization between the Marxist and non-Marxist forces--if the openings were to bring the centrist voters to the ND and gave it the needed majority to become government. This, however, is wishful thinking and, when the country's highest interests are at stake, it is not permissible to shape electoral strategy on the basis of wishful thinking. The game must be played with guarantees.

7. But even if it is not certain that the centrist voters will cross over to the New Democracy in sufficient numbers, will they inevitably remain tied to PASOK? I believe that there are possibilities for a significant number of centrist voters to be drawn away from PASOK if there is a third alternative solution. If, on election day, the centrist voters have to choose between the ND ticket and that of PASOK the chances of their voting for PASOK are great as, after all, the Euroelections demonstrated. If, however, there is a third ticket, a genuinely centrist ticket as a third choice, the same thing will not occur. In this case, even if one in four of the centrist voters of PASOK chooses the centrist ticket, the electoral strength of PASOK will drop from 41.4 to about 32 percent. But then, the electoral system notwithstanding, PASOK will lose any possibility of staying in power by democratic means. And naturally, in this case, the next premier would be Mr. Mitsotakis.

8. It is evident, I believe, that the development of our political life depends on the creation of a serious, collective centrist formation. However, the experts will counter that it is impossible to create a centrist party because of the absence of a "leader." This would be correct if the proposed centrist party were heading for the premiership--as in the days of N. Plastiras or G. Papandreou. This time, however, the role of the centrist party will be different. This party will play a balancing role by offering--with conditions, of course--after the elections (or before the elections if the electoral system demands it), its support to form a government with the New Democracy (which does not have any reliable possibilities to obtain a majority on its own strength, as PASOK does not have, unless a convenient electoral system is "concocted.").

As long as the role of the centrist party is a balancing one, it does not need a charismatic leader. It needs 20-25 serious centrist politicians with electoral

appeal to go to the Chamber of Deputies to play this balancing role. These politicians will, of course, come from the centrist field, from among the deputies who have already left PASOK and the deputies who will leave it in the coming months (if, of course, there is an organization to attract them).

9. One could add that not only is a "leader" not needed, but, on the contrary, the effort of anyone to claim a leadership role would undermine the movement to form a centrist party and, in the end, would destroy it. It is common knowledge what happened in the Euroelections. The Greek people sent a clear enough message that it does not consider any of the self-proclaimed "leaders" capable of playing that role. Things might have been different had the four little parties united into one party ...

10. But, the experts will further counter, it is not only the absence of a leader, but also the refusal of the various centrist leaders to cooperate in the coalescing of a serious party with collective leadership. This observation is, unfortunately, valid up to a point. But there are indications that there are many who are beginning to understand the need to move seriously and responsibly in that direction. It would admittedly be maddeningly disappointing to their ability and patriotism if they were unable to move from the endless talks to political action, especially when the voters wait like the crowd at the bus stop, ready to climb aboard as soon as the right vehicle appears.

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CSO: 3521/85

## UNFAVORABLE COMMENTS ON WEU MEETING

Athens EXORMISI TIS KYRIAKIS in Greek 9 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] With the approval of a communique whose authors immediately called it "historical" there came to a close, on 27 October in Rome, the extraordinary conference of the defense and foreign affairs ministers of the Western European Union (WEU).

This conference, which coincided with the 30th anniversary of WEU, at the same time marked its revitalization after a decade of comatose survival, a revitalization that came about under the aegis of Reaganism and--paradoxically--by the de facto shrinking of Europe's areas of independence.

For this reason, the "historical" communique emphasizes, to the point of foolishness, that "WEU must contribute not only to the security of Western Europe, but also to the improvement of the common defense between the countries of the Atlantic Alliance," while at the same time, it emphasized that "the security within the framework of NATO is indivisible."

In other words, WEU fully accepted the "advice" of General Rogers, who has called repeatedly on the European allies to contribute more to the qualitative and quantitative improvement of the conventional armament of the European flank of NATO.

The seven WEU countries--Britain, Germany, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg--thus began a procedure that will lead them towards a broader coordination in the coproduction of weapons systems and towards "standardization" according to NATO's common criteria.

At the press conference that took place at the Palazzo Barberini there were many questions asked about the much-discussed creation of a European "Task Force" (Rapid Deployment Force) capable of intervening in extra-European scenarios "where the security of Europe is endangered."

In other words, in the Middle East, the Persian Gulf and North Africa. This de facto broadening of NATO's jurisdiction is an objective that Washington has sought for quite some time and it appears to have succeeded in reaching it now through WEU, in view of the fact that West German foreign minister, Hans Dietrich Genscher, unequivocally stated that "Europe cannot remain indifferent before the repercussions that Third World crises can have on European security."

On the other hand, the excessive zeal of the Italians ended in a fiasco when they sent Defense Minister Spadolini bound by a resolution of the Italian Parliamentary Defense Committee where reference was made to "common military units" and to common "European staffs." Spadolini admitted during the press conference that this proposal was "not discussed," while the French foreign minister, Claude Cheysson, grabbed the microphone in a panic to emphasize that "France does not even examine the possibility of common military units or staffs." The European "task force" will exist, in other words, if each country will direct its part individually.

However, where this revitalization of WEU begins to concern us closely is on the subject of its broadening. Already during the Rome conference the seven introduced the official candidacy of Portugal to become a full member. "This proposal will be examined," Genscher commented, however, he hastened to add that "all NATO countries will be informed, in the context of the alliance, of the decisions and activities of the WEU."

Greece, as stated by the Greek ambassador to Rome, Khristos Strimmenos, follows with "interest" the developments as does Turkey, which 2 weeks ago received, through Defense Minister Yavuzturk, the assurances of Spadolini that he will support its request to participate in the WEU meetings. This was explained to us by Spadolini himself after the press conference: "The northeastern flank of NATO. Frankly, the WEU does not have an interest in expanding in that direction.

"On the other hand, as the name itself says, it is a matter of a union of the countries of Western Europe, therefore its interest is turned more towards Spain, Norway and Denmark. There are already problems with NATO in the north-eastern flank, among other things."

From various comments and information that reached Rome from Brussels, however, we got the impression that the obstacle was not "geographical" at all. On the contrary, Greece and Turkey were excluded "beforehand," precisely because of the known problems with NATO. The exclusion was not automatic, but recent and was made after pressures from Washington via the British delegation.

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## 'CHANGE' ACCUSED OF ALLOWING LOWERING OF PRESS STANDARDS

Athens POLITIKA THEMATA in Greek 9 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] There is an extremely serious problem in the press in Greece. The newspapers are improvised, strident, barbaric and seek sensationalism wherever they find it. At present, they do not take into account either national interests or national matters or institutions in their relentless race to gain circulation, which they must find or hang on to by any means, often illegal. The show goes on.

An editor, who was denounced as a receiver of stolen goods, continues his information contribution with below zero circulation. Despite it all, he succeeds in keeping his newspaper alive.

Another threatens someone else in the publishers' club with publicly humiliating him wherever he finds him and the headline is written in colossal block letters.

Newspapers with unprecedented obscenity are daily displayed at newsstands and the eye of the reader now finds an aggressive vulgarity, which characterizes the underworld, in eight-column headlines.

All this is daily fare for all the Greeks, who accept it without protest, those who do not actually enjoy it ...

Show me your press and I will tell you what kind of people you are! Are we, therefore, truly worthy of this decline? The only possible answer to the question is that, yes, we are. That for sometime now we have set a course from which there is no return. That we are a people marching to its own perdition.

Education: zero (with failing grades on their papers, graduates in literature, medicine and law have obtained their degrees--a top academic professor not only admitted, but stated that he contributed to it). Administration: below zero. Work? The most sincere workers are the jobless on welfare! Justice? Complaints. Politics? Public life? Private life? Fraud, parasitism, underground economy, falsehood and concealment.

PASOK, with its handouts that it called popular participation, prostituted the people who greedily threw themselves into the additional democratic freedoms they were promised and, misunderstanding them, turned into anarchy and vulgarity.

The events at Exarkheia and everything else that happens during the morning hours in the squares could not have happened a few years ago. The social misunderstanding that we called "Change" had to come for them to take place. And we should expect the worst.

In the vortex of the crisis that is ravaging Greece, the press (let's bypass television, there is nothing that can be done about it) plays the role of promoter. The newspapers not only do not stand against vulgarity under its thousands of forms, but they abet it. Thus, we observe the phenomenon of quality newspapers (KATHIMERINI, TO VIMA, AVGI) vegetate at the lowest limits of circulation while obscenity triumphs.

There is an extremely serious problem in the press in Greece and it could not have been different if one thinks about who is governing, to whom the oversight of the press has been entrusted and what the government official having jurisdiction did all those years he was responsible.

POLITIKA THEMATA does not merely point it out. They propose an intervention in this printed decadence. More about that, however, in the next issue.

9731

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## PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION PLANNED FOR COMPUTERS

Athens TO VIMA in Greek 11 Nov 84 p 7

[Text] The storing and recording of data regarding the political and religious beliefs of a person as well as national origin is prohibited. The recording of any data of a strictly personal nature, in general, is also prohibited.

This is provided for in a special bill whose implementation is being hastened in view of the introduction of data processing in our country as well.

The objective of the bill is the protection of the secrecy of private life from the dangers that can be created by modern technical means of data processing (computers).

According to the bill:

The marketing of computers is subject to restrictions. No one can acquire a computer without a special permit that will be issued by the Supreme Commission composed of members of the Council of State, Justices of the Areios Pagos, university professors, attorneys and representatives of the three large parties.

The owners of a computer are required to submit, within a certain time limit, a declaration to the government agency having jurisdiction or to the police authorities.

Inaccurate or incorrect data are corrected or stricken if the correction or striking is requested by the citizen concerned. The interested party, however, must prove beforehand that the data in question are incorrect. The above-mentioned commission monitors the striking of inaccurate data and oversees the application of the law.

Penalties of up to 5 years in prison as well as fines are decreed for violators. The commission that drafted the bill consists of the members of the Council of State, Messrs. K. Khalazonitis, as chairman, and A. Marinos, university professors, Messrs. P. Pavlopoulos, K. Mavrias and G. Papadimitriou. The bill uses as a model the convention of the Council of Europe and the equivalent law of France, Germany and Sweden.

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## TURKISH CHARGES OF WESTERN THRACE OPPRESSION COUNTERED

Athens | KATHIMERINI in Greek 20 Nov 84 p 9

/Article by National Council of Scientists President Kimon Khlapanidis/

/Text/ The Council of Europe scheduled yesterday the discussion of a formal question by the German delegation "on repressive measures against the Turkish minority in Western Thrace." The British delegation also supports the views of the Germans. The French delegation does not agree, while the delegations from the Scandinavian countries remain neutral. Of course, one cannot but wonder why the German deputies signed such a question without checking on the validity of the Turkish charges.

Every deputy in the Council should know Ankara's hostility toward Greece and the destruction of the Greek citizens in Turkey after 1922 so that out of 220,000 prospering inhabitants of Istanbul, Imvros and Tenedos, only 4,000 remain, mostly elderly individuals with no future. By contrast, they should know that the Turkish inhabitants of Western Thrace increased, from 90,000 in 1923 at the time the Lansanne Treaty was signed, to over 120,000, being economically self sufficient and having equal rights with the Greeks.

Nevertheless, the Moslems pushed by the many employees of the Turkish Consulate in Komotini and by the teachers of the Turkish schools, engage in constant provocations.

Let us examine now the property status of Greeks in Istanbul and of the Turks (Greek citizens) in Western Thrace. There are international statistical data which prove the property loss and the geometrical decline of property values after 1923. One should not forget the heavy "Barcik" tax which theoretically applied to the Turks as well but in reality was imposed in 1943 by the Turkish government on the properties of Greeks (Turkish citizens). To pay the tax one had to sell almost all his property.

When the money received from the sale was not enough to pay the tax, people were arrested and sent to forced labor camps in remote areas of Anatolia. As a result, after these destructive actions or exile--while the Greek authorities did not use similar measures against the Moslems in Western Thraki--the remaining Greeks (Turkish citizens) in Istanbul, approximately 5,000 until 3 years ago did not have the right to sell their property--even at much lower prices.

Lately the sale of real estate was permitted. But even this measure was approved only after much delay. Since most of the many thousands of Greeks have left Istanbul, it is necessary for them to go back in person--since they are not allowed to use a power of attorney--find a buyer, sign a preliminary contract which must then be sent to Ankara for approval. This procedure takes at least 6 months. The price is minimal (approximately one fifth of the real value). The money from the sale is not paid to the seller but is deposited to a blocked account in the National Bank of Turkey!

The German deputies who submitted the question should compare what happened to the Greeks in Istanbul with the situation of the Turkish inhabitants of Western Thraki. Especially with regard to education and the overall intellectual activity, the Greek governments have greatly assisted the Turkish minority. It is known that the beautiful Gelal Bayar high school, established by the Papagos government and strengthened by the first Karamanlis government, at the very moment the Turks in Istanbul were closing down the Great School of the Nation and the School of Khalki, and were imposing more Turkish courses as required, etc.

#### Privileged Arrangements

Moreover, in informing world opinion and as an answer to the German deputies we might add the following (data from A. I. Athanasiades, a Komotini resident, published in the local newspaper KHRONOS:

1. In 1913 we restored to Islam the Eski Mosque which the Bulgarians had turned into St. Nicholas Church, claiming that it was an ancient church according to the archives of Adrianopolis.
2. In 1923 General Governor of Thrace and Mayor of Komotini Apostolos Souzos transferred by exception the use of the property of the Komotini Water Service (Souyiolou Indaresi) to the Moslem community of Komotini for the minority's educational needs. In 1968, when the dry river Buklutza was covered, two million drachmas were given as compensation for buildings which were torn down on both sides of the open bridge of Syntagma Kriton Street. The use of the other demolished buildings of the former Water Service is continuing and the rents are paid to the Committee for Management of the Moslem Properties.
3. With a totally favoritist amendment of the City Plan, it was allowed to construct eight stores on the Komotini "Mouftis" on Sof. Komninou Street in the area which initially was set aside for the Municipal Market.
4. Six million drachmas were given to the minority for a lot, from a public area, for the construction of two school buildings on Tsaldaris Street, although the sum was not owed.
5. With this sum of money from the compensation, etc., from the stores of the former Water Service, fifty stores were constructed. With receipt of rents the Turkish minority benefited in all sectors.

6. The Greek administration three times slowed down the current of departure which had appeared in the ranks of the minority. It took to court those who facilitated the illegal emigration. It placed under police surveillance persons helping the unlawful exit.

7. It distributed land to Moslem landless peasants.

8. It allowed the purchase of houses and farms with informal, private agreements.

9. It provided all types of aid and money allowances through the Organizations of Common Security.

10. It gave the name of the then president of the Turkish Republic Gelal Bayar to the Moslem Lyceum of Komotini.

It is hard to understand how any visitor could doubt the good life and freedom of the Turks in Western Thraki. Their treatment before the law is not merely equal but better than that of the Greeks. The standard of living of the area Moslems is much superior to that of inland Turkey and much better than their neighbors in Eastern Thraki.

We shall give one more of the many data which prove beyond doubt that the Turkish minority in Western Thraki not only is not being persecuted but instead lives comfortably and in freedom. At the end of June 1983, a minaret suddenly appeared in Komotini, at the old mosque on Megas Alexandros Street. The Moslems had worked all night on Tuesday 28 to Wednesday 29 June and erected the minaret without a permit!

Regardless of the fate of the German question, the Greek government must not only inform the Council of Europe, the Europarlament and in general the international organizations, but it must, at last, organize the proper presentation of the Greek position internationally to prevent the Turkish propaganda from finding easy access. Above all, it is necessary to tell the truth everywhere that the Turks in Western Thraki are so free that they can move freely and can be instigated by Ankara without facing the sanctions of the Greek law.

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CSO: 3521/92

## TRADE UNIONS CONCERNED ABOUT UNEMPLOYEDS' 'AUTONOMIST' TENDENCIES

Athens ENA in Greek 1 Nov 84 p 10

/Text/ The syndicalist movement has recently faced a serious problem as a result of the political, social and syndicalist effects of the unemployment. Already there are 300,000 unemployed, of whom 65 percent are young men under 25.

The trade unions have started to worry because they see "autonomist" tendencies among the unemployed in the main ranks of the working class and the trade union in particular. They consider these tendencies especially dangerous, not only for the unity of the working class and the effectiveness of their demands but mainly for the political and social peace.

These tendencies have not yet appeared openly but mainly they are being hatched among the ranks of the young unemployed. A large number of them tend to be outside of trade-union control and become subject to exploitation by circles with political objectives or by agents of "autonomous" action which directly serves these political objectives.

Trade unionists from the government camp noted this danger during the recent plenum of the Greek General Confederation of Labor /GSEE/. They noted that already a movement is being formed--informally for the time being, irresponsibly and not controlled by the official trade unions--and that from the emerging, in the near future, of a confrontation between workers and the unemployed the seeds of fascism are born!

These observations are sufficiently serious, especially if one takes into account the experience of European trade union movements in similar situations which even led to armed clashes or to the emergence of an "anarchic" climate.

Most worried appears to be the communist party (KKE) which has already taken the initiative to organize the unemployed in the various branches to lead their activities in the direction of demanding and gaining from the government measures to remedy their situation.

KKE's effort to take control of the unemployed movement according to the trade unionists of the United Anti-Dictatorial Movement - Cooperating

/ESAK-S/, does not aim so much at exerting political pressure on the government as to control it to prevent moves and initiatives that could place the political peace in jeopardy.

The "loyalty" shown by KKE in this regard is not yet fully believed by government circles which consider KKE's initiatives as having only narrow partisan objectives.

Of course, this aspect also exists but it is also known that since 1974, KKE has shown particular sensitivity to any questioning of its policy from the Left and that it always wanted to have under its control the moves and initiatives in the syndicalist area.

In the 1974-75 2-year period when there was trade union activity, especially in the industrial sector, outside of the structures of the official trade unions and signs of a challenge to the "legitimate" trade union action, KKE was the party that reacted strongly--even more strongly than the government mechanisms.

The observers of trade union developments may even remember the "arrests" of Trotskyites by ESAK-S cadres and their surrender to the police, for distributing "rutiny" leaflets at workers' gatherings; and also the pressures on Riot Control Units /MAT/ officers of the gendarmery to intervene by force to evacuate a factory occupied by unemployed led by leftist unionists.

In due course the trade union initiatives of the leftists declined and gradually petered out following the overall eroding trend shown in Greece by the movement of questioning the "traditional" structures of the trade union movement and of a section of its leadership (KKE, etc.).

These initiatives, however, now tend to be replaced by uncontrolled initiatives of unemployed, initiatives which have the seed of anarchism. This is considered more dangerous not only because anarchism is KKE's deadliest enemy but also because objectives may prevail in it which will endanger even the democratic tranquility.

KKE-Int. has also taken a position on this subject. It has proposed to the official trade union movement to take initiatives to incorporate the unemployed while at the same time look after the protection and support of the working class in general and the rise of theories for "wildcat" activities based on an updated version that the unemployed--instead of Marx's proletarian--has nothing to lose but his chains.

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CSO: 3521/70

## BRIEFS

TECHNICAL COOPERATION WITH HUNGARY--The third meeting of the Joint Inter-ministerial Committee for Economic, Industrial, and Technical cooperation between Greece and Hungary has ended. Kostis Vaitzos, alternate minister for national economy headed the Greek delegation. A protocol has been signed envisaging the following: Financial settlement of political refugees' social insurance claims; Hungary's participation in the supply of technical equipment for 165 new health centers in our country and the promotion of cooperation between the national organization for medicines and the corresponding Hungarian pharmaceutical industry in the field of technology and trade in medicines; additional exports to Hungary of 5,000 tons oranges which will be [word indistinct] next January; promotion of cooperation between Steyr and Icarus for the joint production of buses and other vehicles for Greece and other countries; cooperation in the production and export of shoes and garments to third countries as well as the processing of raw materials. In addition cooperation will be promoted in the tourist field while finally it is envisaged that Greek exports to Hungary will rise by 10 percent as compared with 1983. [Text] [Athens Domestic Service in Greek 18 GMT 15 Dec 84 NC]

RADIO-TELEVISION PROTOCOL WITH USSR--A working cooperation protocol has been signed between Hellenic Radio and Television (ERT) One and Soviet Radio Television to broaden cooperation. Enver Mamedov, first deputy chairman of State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, and Lev Korolev, chief of the foreign relations department of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, arrived in Greece on 13 December at the invitation of ERT One. The working protocol, which was signed by ERT One Director General Vasos Mathiopoulos, envisages better and more effective implementation of the 1982 agreement signed between ERT One and Soviet Radio Television in Moscow in 1982 and includes program exchanges and joint participation in festivals and productions. [Text] [Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1930 GMT 14 Dec 84 NC]

CSO: 3521/118

## ELECTION OF NEW SDP CHAIRMAN CREATES PROBLEM FOR LEFTIST OFFSHOOT

IP Columnist Comments

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 13 Nov 84 p 9

/Commentary by 'Staksteinar' //Text / Undercurrents on the Left Wing

As the days grow shorter, we have noticed undercurrents on the left wing on our Icelandic political scene, even though the seas being sailed are not large ones. The latest example of this is the candidacy of Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson for the chairmanship of the Social Democratic Party /BJ/--running against Kjartan Johnsson. Whether this event will take form of a hastily prepared announcement at the party's congress, which otherwise no one would take any notice of, or a real sign of life, remains to be seen. Staksteinar finds it appropriate here to take a look under the calm surface of these left-wing waters and examine the undercurrents more closely--not neglecting to throw in a dab of humor.

## Small Party News

The Social Democratic Union MP's have been experimenting bit by bit with new campaign techniques, trying on new slogans. They have been rowing the boat in several directions, broadly speaking: rowing on the one hand against the Independence Party, as a result of that party's proposed policies which are in conflict with theirs; and sailing on the other hand towards the Independence Party as far as the issues go, and aiming to adopt various points of view held by that party. In any case, the party seems to be casting off the environment of conservative socialism in which it was nurtured.

It is apparent that the Union is thinking of fishing in similar waters of policy as those fished by the Independence Party. They are realizing where the opinions of the majority of Icelandic voters lie. The Independence Party is bearing up well under this, although new, small parties can be annoying, rather like being jabbed with a knitting needle. But a few pokes with a needle might do the party some good anyway. If BJ's support of various Independent policies is solid, it could possibly help the Independence Party in advancing issues important to national welfare.



The other small party, the Women's List, /KL/ has found a haven under the wing of the People's Alliance.

#### Social Democratic Party Comes Into the Limelight

Jon Baldvin Hannibalsson's candidacy for chairman of the Social Democratic Party pushes the party out of the political doldrums the party has been in, and into the limelight of the media and everyday discussion. Hannibalsson's candidacy, it seems, is an attempt to bring the Social Democratic Party into the middle in Icelandic politics, closer to the electoral fishing ground which the Social Democratic Union has turned to recently with its new campaign image. Hannibalsson's positions on foreign affairs and national security seems to indicate the same thing. At the same time as the Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Union are sailing towards independent ideals, the People's Alliance is indulging in extremism and returning to nineteenth-century Marxism. The "Legion of Revolutionary Communists" has joined up entirely with the People's Alliance, and the former leaders of that group are finding positions of influence in the party. The editorship of THJODVILJINN has taken on a Cuban flavor, to put it succinctly. There is no danger that the People's Alliance will get much competition from the fringe groups that it has been wooing, with the possible exception of the Fellowship for the Women's List.

There is a definite undercurrent on the left wing in Icelandic politics; some of it crashes in waves on the sharp rocks, but the waves are broken up and run out into the sand, in the end.

#### Madame Progress

There come times, now and then, in our nation's history, when Madame Progress counts herself one of the leftist parties; but her political loyalties change like the weather here in Iceland--and the weather is known to change here at a moment's notice.

The chairman of the Progressive Party, Steingrímur Hermannsson, favors the government, a coalition government with the Independence Party, which is currently planning to return our nation towards independent ideals and increased national income. Policies are now being put into action which ought to achieve both of these goals quickly and well.

But it puts a wrench in the works when we look at the editorial columns of TIMINN, or NUTIMINN as we should call it now, which are written in a kind of Northern oracular style. The authors of these columns have shouldered their spears against the coalition parties. The editor has put on a permanent scowl, and most of the others are in his corner.

The leadership of the Progressive Party has looked both to the left and to the right through the years, just as children are taught to do,

before walking across the crowded street of national politics. But the view to the left does not look favorable these days. And so the leftover flotsam is floating in the opposite direction. The Social Democratic Party and the Social Democratic Union are aiming for the middle waters, maybe even across the midline, towards the waters where the ideas of independence prevail. The People's Alliance, that Marxist centipede, is harking back to the olden days of Marx and Engels, and has taken to exaggerating. The Women's List has chosen for itself the role of a passenger in the back of Karl Marx's boat. People can have different opinions about our government. But political opposition--be it ever so petty--can only be good for the government, whatever else happens.

#### IP Paper Editorial Comments

Reykjavik MORGUNBLADID in Icelandic 13 Nov 84 p 28

/Editorial: "Campaign Techniques of the Social Democratic Union"/

/Text/ The MP's of the Social Democratic Union are involved at present in a two-pronged campaign. On the one hand, they are raging against the Independence Party, saying that it has broken various campaign promises. On the other hand, they are cozying up to the Independence Party, opinion-wise; they are making its policies their own. From beginning to end, these campaign techniques take their bearings from the fact that the independent, progressive, non-socialist philosophies, which can be grouped together under the heading of "Independence policy," actually do have the sympathy of the majority of the people. The MP's of the Social Democratic Union have opted to send their fishing ships into the most fruitful electoral waters, as regards political opinions. On the other hand, the Union's MP's have way overshot the mark in their attacks on the Independence Party, some of which have even been directed at MORGUNBLADID. As an example of this kind of dirty pool, we can name the speech of Stefan Benediktsson in the upper house of the Althing concerning a new expansion agreement with Alusuisse, which would bring in an additional 2,300 million kronur yearly in income to the National Power Company, plus 100 million kronur in negotiation funds to our national treasury, because of cancelled agreements, besides, most probably, even higher energy values to accommodate the growth in the aluminum plant. The abovementioned MP went so far as to accuse MORGUNBLADID of taking an "anti-Icelandic" position on this issue, which position was later adopted by the Independence Party. This is a serious accusation, and about as far from reality as can be imagined.

MORGUNBLADID has criticized the behavior of the former Minister of Industry, who mismanaged our negotiations with the aluminum company on a constant basis from 1978 to 1983, and seemed to be more concerned with breaking off the contract, which he said in a parliamentary speech was the most favorable energy choice for Iceland, granting us a rightful portion in energy value. Had the agreement which has finally

been achieved been in effect since 1979, the National Power Company would be 1,800 million kronur better off, and the credit record of the Icelandic energy system would be different, not to mention easier to live with.

Both British and American specialists consulted by the former Minister of Industry recommended the procedure which MORGUNBLADID had already said would be best, and which now has been adopted. Spokesmen from the National Power Company have said that the new agreement "goes along with what the Company wants, and will be a real benefit to the plant." The Social Democratic Union would have done better to direct their criticism in the right direction, at the miserly tendencies in the People's Alliance, which has, through its narrow-mindedness, kept huge sums of money out of the reach of the Icelandic people.

Another MP of the Social Democratic Union, Gudmundur Einarsson, accuses MORGUNBLADID of not being impartial on the subject of yesterday's energy industry. MORGUNBLADID has never considered big industry a panacea, or an insurance of job security, or of favorable living standards in this country. On the contrary, we have suggested the following course: converting our Icelandic waterfalls into possible exportable commodities, to name one of the many options which could be pursued.

It is also wrong for this MP from the Social Democratic Union to underestimate the Icelandic fisheries and agricultural systems. These industries are not old-fashioned, as he would seem to indicate--no more so than the country itself is old-fashioned. These industries have kept our nation alive for more than 1,100 years. Our fisheries have only become the big industry that they now are in this century. We need, moreover, to modernize the technology used in these traditional industries, and to develop the market demand for the products. And our fishing resources and tillable ground can be brought to even higher yields.

MORGUNBLADID has very often pointed out that job security and good living standards do not come out of negotiations, but are born out of a healthy industrial system. We have emphasized the cultivation of our traditional industries, and the establishment of new support for industry and the national economy. We have spoken of the energy industry as one of many available avenues to develop, but we have devoted no less attention to fish farming, nuclear power plants, and biochemical industry, which would be connected inseparably with both fishing and agriculture. Gudmundur Einarsson has adopted some of these suggestions made by MORGUNBLADID as his own. That, by itself, is some reason to rejoice. There is no reason, then, for this MP to attack the source of his own ideas.

The attacks made by the Social Democratic Union against MORGUNBLADID, and other members of our society which have tried to indicate ways to insure job security and economic independence for our nation and its

people, miss their mark. It would be more justifiable for the Social Democratic Union to join up with those political forces which are aiming to clear the way for our nation towards a better economy, independence, and a revamped national industrial scene. The course of the ship of state in search of a better standard of living can be better sought if our political forces are all rowing in the same direction.

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CSO: 3626/5

## REACTION TO FORTHCOMING ANNOUNCEMENT OF 'EANIST' PARTY

Lisbon SEMANARIO in Portuguese 27 Oct 84 p 10

/Text/ The arrival of the "Eanist party" is anxiously awaited in Lisbon. Groups and individuals for whom politics has been a stepmother, not providing them with the place they deserved in the seats of power, are bustling about preparing for the great day, which is coming soon, which is coming soon.

They say that it was very well that the movement should be born in the provinces. This was the hardest part--and it's over. When it arrives in the city (read, Lisbon), the movement will be unstoppable; overwhelming. That is exactly what Chairman Mao did, establishing himself in the countryside, making the "Long March," encircling the cities or undermining from within. And power fell into his hands like a ripe fig.

The fact that the people who were sidelined and dismissed from politics are preparing to call the coming party "a fig" does not need to be demonstrated; it is in the nature of things. A former reformist deputy, Pelagio Madureira, told us that rules are already being established for recruiting the youth for the CNARPE /National Committee to Support the Re-election of President Eanes/; "under 20 years of age, otherwise, afterwards they want to be deputies." There is still no party, there is nothing, and they are already distributing places in parliament, he concluded, disillusioned. For over a month, he has been waiting to be contacted. Nuno Godinho de Matos, another former reformist deputy spoke with him: he is extremely enthusiastic over the new party. Medeiros Ferreira, too. But of invitations, properly speaking--nothing.

## The Personalities Are Stirring

Medeiros Ferreira, he says, falls asleep every night thinking of politics and wakes up with the same thought. For the love of Eanes, he broke with Soares at the peak of his career, fell out with Sa Carneiro, with a brilliant future as a reformer ahead of him. It would be an injustice if this time he did not get a place in keeping with his capabilities, the more so since his capital as "former foreign minister," the youngest foreign minister in the world at the time, is eroding.

Jorge Sa Borges, who gave rise to so much talk when he was minister of labor in the Pintasilgo government and then was forgotten, is currently one of the

organizers of the "reception committee for the party that is coming from the provinces," that is, one of the most active members of the Lisbon component of the party.

Melo Antunes, also. He was minister, coordinator of the Armed Forces Movement /MFA/, ideologue, chairman of the Constitutional Commission, councilor of state and of the revolution. Came the constitutional revision and he was reduced to almost nothing. That cannot remain so.

Not to mention the former secretary of state for industry, Jose Rabacas, the first of the "dismissed" by Soares, whose number is legion, who are awaiting their time.

The expectation is great: there are enough former members of government to govern all of Europe, if necessary. Eanes' name is still the meeting point and the life saver. Let the party come from there, they say, rolling up their sleeves.

#### Soares Trusts

Politics does not live from personalities alone; there are parties: some large, some so-so, that also wait and trust. Soares trusts that the penetration of the new party into his bases will be negligible. "In Oporto only Gomes Carneiro and a few others without significance or pretige have joined the new party. From the other federations, nobody."

It is possible that Antonio Campos does not tell him everything. "At the present time, the Socialist Party /PS/ does not even have headquarters," we were told by a UGT deputy who detests Campos and is at odds with the prime minister because of the labor package threats. "Everything is closed, from Moncao to Vila Real de Santo Antonio. I travel, so I see it."

Raul de Brito confirms for us that in Oporto there were some 60 individuals who went over to the other side: Fernando de Almeida, Gomes Carneiro, Manuel Pires, among others. "It is just as well," he said sarcastically, "I had already been told that Eanes was concerned about the quality of his supporters."

#### The UEDS Waits

In the Leftist Union for Socialist Democracy /UEDS/ the problem is not the Eanist party but the Pintasilgo candidacy. The Pintasilgo wing of the UEDS (Rui Namorado, Ferreira Guedes) has been gaining ground before one's eyes. "Soares has treated us badly," we were told by Octavio Cunha, chairman of the national committee and a Lopes Cardoso stalwart. "What about the Vitorino episode?" we asked. "The Vitorino case had its importance in the area of Lopes Cardoso's personal relations with Soares. But the most serious thing is this constant degradation of the Socialist Party /PS/ before the Social Democratic Party /PSD/." And with a broad gesture he indicated the whole parliament.

The position of the UEDS toward the presidential elections was taken up at the meeting of the political committee last week and will be debated in the national

committee within 2 weeks. A proposition that has already gained supporters is that the UEDS would have everything to gain in supporting the former prime minister. She would fall far short of reaching Otelo's "score" in 1976. The UEDS would be the only party machine involved: it would be in a position to pull the chestnuts out of the fire, to take advantage of the success, even if it were limited. And the UEDS has a machine set up, small as it may be, and most of all it has money: more than 5,000 contos on terms, for a long time. For the UEDS, the Republican and Socialist Front /FRS/ was "a good deal" and the "PS plus independents," also. As of now, it is its members who insure the precampaign: Alfreda Fonseca is in UEDS and belongs to the majority; Teresa Santa Clara Gomes was even a deputy for the party.

#### ASDI Doest Not Want to Hear About It

"Man, we have so much to think about, one hole after another, a financial disaster that has not been seen since last century, a pervasive lack of discipline at all levels of the administration, and you come to talk to me about events that will occur at the end of next year?" That is Magalhaes Mota speaking. Eanism, Pintasilgo, he does not even want to hear about it!

Magalhaes Mota does not have any reason to minimize our question. Who knows if the new party is not going to highlight the same problems that worry him. Besides, if there is anyone who has lost in the past from support for Eanes and his governments (Mota Pinto and Pintasilgo) that someone is certainly the Independent Social Democratic Action /ASDI/. It had 33 deputies. It woke up with three, tolerated more than accepted by its new ally, the Socialist Party. Pintasilgo ignores him? Then there is no morality in politics.

8711

CSO: 3542/42



POLITICAL

PORTUGAL

BRIEFS

EDUCATIONAL COOPERATION WITH MOZAMBIQUE--Portugal and Mozambique signed a protocol of cooperation in the field of education with a view to the training of teachers of Portuguese, the formulation of programs and social support for Mozambican students. The program for implementing the protocol, which will be defined by 1985, is aimed specifically at "increasing the number of Mozambican secondary school teachers with the proper training to teach the subject of Portuguese." The protocol also encompasses the granting of scholarships for advanced study for Mozambican students who may want to study in Portugal. In the Directorate General of Cooperation of the Foreign Ministry, registration has been opened for cooperation activities in the People's Republic of Mozambique for teachers in the physical education teachers school (middle level), and for the subjects of biology applied to physical education, methodology of biology, and handball. /Text/ /Lisbon O DIA in Portuguese 28 Oct 84 p 3/ 8711

CSO: 3542/42

## REACTION TO PALME'S CHARGE CONSERVATIVES UNDERMINING NEUTRALITY

## Conservatives Seen Moderating Criticism

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 15 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Adelsohn's Security Policy"]

[Text] The Conservatives are trying to avoid disputes on security policy. This impression was reinforced by party leader Ulf Adelsohn's speech at the Foreign Policy Institute on Wednesday.

Last week during a question-and-answer session in parliament the prime minister talked about the "completely poisoned climate" of the Conservatives' security policy debate. Palme felt the party had dug such a deep confidence gap on these matters that it was "doubtful if it can ever be bridged over." The Conservative leader did not respond to that charge in his speech on Wednesday.

Adelsohn did take up the cudgels for an exchange of opinions on security policy as such: "The demand for unity should not stifle the broad and lively debate that is necessary in a free nation," he said without qualification, as if the problem here did not involve a number of earlier reckless Conservative statements in the debate. But Adelsohn's most obvious criticism of the government party on this occasion was subdued and concerned the risk that Swedish parties might coordinate their views with those of foreign parties. Party spokesmen had earlier expressed the view that all international contacts were inappropriate before the Foreign Policy Board had been heard from!

Guarded support for the efforts on behalf of a Nordic nuclear-free zone was part of the Conservative security policy and had been anticipated; at the moment that is not a big area of dispute.

As expected, Adelsohn stressed the importance of a strong Swedish defense, although he was careful not to be too specific and box himself in. The idea that we should not create a new gap in air defense in order to close the submarine gap is a good one but it is not a uniquely Conservative idea.

In contrast to what we have often seen from the Conservatives, Adelsohn wisely avoided longwinded speculations about possible Soviet intentions behind the

violations of Swedish territory. Of course it was evident that the Soviet Union is our biggest worry. But according to Adelson it is the Conservatives' "absolute conviction that a firm policy is respected by the Soviet Union." It is interesting that the Conservative leader took up both the "pedagogic Soviet policy" toward Sweden and western demands that we take part in a limited economic warfare against the East. Adelson thought we should reject both approaches. It is felt to be a Swedish plus that the Conservative Party made this dual statement.

Adelson's speech was the end of an entire party round at the Foreign Policy Institute. What began as a Social Democratic government tradition--for example Foreign Minister Bodstrom's attempt in December 1982 to make economic growth a condition for detente--has expanded this year.

In January Center Party leader Thorbjorn Falldin seemed anxious to put the Conservatives in their place with regard to foreign policy. In May Liberal Party leader Bengt Westerberg seemed more inclined to try and reduce the gap between the Social Democrats and the Conservatives. And now here is Ulf Adelson acting as if there was no gap at all.

It may be too strong a statement to say that these speeches have helped create greater clarity and insight on our nation's security policy conditions. But what we have seen is another series of indications of the mutual determination to safeguard Swedish territory. For us this goes without saying--but unfortunately it is necessary to demonstrate it to the rest of the world.

#### SDP Parliamentary Revives Charges

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Nov 84 p 6

[Article by Lars Christiansson]

[Text] The Conservatives are deliberately trying to undermine the foreign policy unity backed by the other parties. The Conservatives stand to the right of the other right-wing parties in the Nordic countries when it comes to arms reduction issues.

These were some of the accusations made by Social Democratic member of Riksdag Sture Eriksson on Wednesday against the Conservatives in the parliamentary debate on arms reduction policy.

The debate was characterized to a large extent by Social Democratic attacks on the Conservative views on Swedish security and arms reduction policy.

Although both Social Democratic and Conservative representatives stressed the importance of all parties having endorsed most of the points in the Foreign Policy Committee's recommendations on arms reduction, it was the differences that came to the fore.

Not Reliable

Sture Eriksson took aim at Conservative member of Riksdag Carl Bildt, who was not present during the debate. He is on a trip to Washington and New York.

Eriksson said that the Conservatives had certainly toned down their security policy profile now, but this was just an election campaign smokescreen. One cannot rely on the behavior of the Conservatives, in his opinion.

"The Conservatives do not want to have a debate with the Center Party and the Liberals now. Nonsocialist unity in the campaign is more important than agreement on Sweden's foreign policy," said Eriksson.

"Bildt accuses the government of pursuing an arms reduction policy that is in the interest of the Soviet Union," said Eriksson. As support for this he quoted a newspaper article written by Carl Bildt.

Support for Carl Bildt

Conservative Ivar Virgin said that the Conservatives have a deep and active interest in arms control. He attacked the government for not supporting the written statements in the UN resolution on a freeze of nuclear weapons that would guarantee a negotiated freeze and not just a declared freeze.

In response to the attack on the absent Carl Bildt, Ivar Virgin said he considered it strange to attack Bildt when he did not have an opportunity to defend himself. He and party colleague Anita Brakenhielm also expressed their support of Carl Bildt.

"The verbally precocious Bildt chose not to stand in the corner and defend the Conservative retreat. He prefers to talk about security policy with his re-elected friends in Washington," retorted Sture Eriksson, who called the Swedish Conservatives the Nordic right-wing party that followed the most unhesitatingly in President Reagan's footsteps when it comes to their attitude toward a nuclear freeze.

Freeze Urgent

Ivar Virgin said the Conservative position on the freeze was based on the requirement that there be a balance of strength between the superpowers for a nuclear freeze to be possible.

Sture Eriksson also questioned the Conservative support for the Swedish neutrality policy and referred here to similar statements by Carl Bildt and the Free Conservative Students' League.

These were also rejected by Conservative members of parliament as being taken out of context and they stressed that the party firmly supports the neutrality policy.

Arms control ambassador Maj Britt Theorin also took part in the debate and stressed that the Swedish government cannot support a negotiated freeze. That would lead to a much too long and protracted negotiation process. It was urgent to get a freeze now in view of the continuing arms buildup, she said.

#### Palme: Circles Undermining Trust

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Dec 84 p 6

[Article by Sven Svensson]

[Text] "It is strange to call for my resignation because I said in the Helsinki newspaper HUFVUDSTADSBLADET that a majority of the Swedish people support our neutrality policy."

Prime Minister Olof Palme said that to DAGENS NYHETER Sunday when he commented on the resignation demands presented in an editorial on Sunday by the Conservative newspaper, SVENSKA DAGBLADET.

HUFVUDSTADSBLADET recently celebrated its 120th anniversary and interviewed all the Nordic prime ministers. An initial interview with Prime Minister Olof Palme was published last Wednesday, a second installment appeared in the Sunday paper. The second interview was also published in SVENSKA DAGBLADET on Sunday.

In the second interview Olof Palme was asked if a nonsocialist government would jeopardize the credibility of Sweden's neutrality policy.

Olof Palme did not answer the question directly, but said:

"In the first place a clear popular majority supports the traditional policy of neutrality and in the second place we will win the election."

Another prominent theme in the answers Olof Palme gave to HUFVUDSTADSBLADET's questions is that there are circles in Sweden who are undermining trust in Swedish neutrality policy. This theme can be found in both the interview articles in HUFVUDSTADSBLADET.

Olof Palme would not tell DAGENS NYHETER directly which circles and people he was referring to. But he did point to the young Conservatives and in particular their last chairman, Gunnar Hokmark who is also a member of Riksdag.

Olof Palme also regards Carl Bildt as belonging to the circle of Conservatives undermining trust in Swedish neutrality, along with a number of researchers and professors who have said in speeches and in writing that the Soviet Union no longer relies on Sweden's neutrality. Palme's thesis is that this is very serious since the basic condition of the neutrality policy is that the superpowers believe in it.

The interview with HUFVUDSTADSBLADET was conducted 3 or 4 weeks ago and Olof Palme says he answered the questions asked by the journalist as honestly as possible.

"It is a strange thing that SVENSKA DAGBLADET is calling for my resignation because I said the Social Democrats will win the election and that a popular majority supports the neutrality policy," Olof Palme said Sunday in a comment to DAGENS NYHETER.

"We have known for a long time that there is strong support among the Swedish people for a firm neutrality policy. We know that the neutrality policy is supported by a broad majority in parliament, consisting of Social Democrats, the Center Party, the Liberals and undoubtedly many Conservatives. This popular majority will certainly still remain after the election.

"I cannot possibly issue a license for any conceivable nonsocialist government in view of the deep split that exists in practice in the Conservative Party.

"I cannot guarantee how a nonsocialist government would act. Take the last 6-year period as an example. The middle-spectrum government essentially followed our policy. What happened then was that the government was exposed to constant sniping by the Conservative Party," said Palme.

"SVENSKA DAGBLADET's demand for my resignation is hysteria stemming from a guilty conscience," Palme continued. "The paper made a real mess of things both for itself and for the Conservative Party when it comes to foreign policy with all the accusations of 'double messages' and with an editorial a while back that claimed that the Social Democrats were in the process of changing their entire security policy."

Is there any difference between the newspaper and the Conservative Party?

"The newspaper has represented more extreme circles, it has been evasive about fundamental security policy evaluations," Palme replied. "The young Conservatives have talked about reaching a kind of agreement with NATO and the chairman of the youth league, Gunnar Hokmark, practically called for Swedish nuclear weapons. I view the terrible accusations against the Social Democrats as stabs in the back."

What about the criticism about pursuing this debate in a foreign newspaper?

"What should I do? I have answered questions from the biggest Swedish-language newspaper in Finland and if I am asked questions of this nature I cannot avoid giving honest answers," Olof Palme replied.

### Party Leaders on Palme Statement

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Dec 84 p 6

[Text] "It is obvious that Olof Palme wants a fuss made about security policy. He evidently thinks this will benefit his party and he places the interests of the Social Democrats ahead of Sweden's."

So said Conservative Party leader Ulf Adelsohn in a comment Sunday on the new conflict between Olof Palme and SVENSKA DAGBLADET. But Ulf Adelsohn did not call for Palme's immediate resignation, as the paper did.

"There are only 9 months left to the election. Olof Palme's statements will affect people's evaluation. He will be leaving anyway if the Social Democrats lose the election," Ulf Adelsohn said, according to TT.

"It should be a matter of course for the present prime minister to put special emphasis on what unites the parties and the people when it comes to safeguarding Sweden's security and neutrality policy," was Thorbjorn Falldin's comment on the uproar.

"Palme should be especially careful to do this when he is in foreign countries or speaking to their mass media," said Falldin. "If there is any time when it is vital to watch what one says, it is on occasions like these.

"Palme knows very well that Swedish foreign and security policy does not stand or fall with him. Respect for and confidence in Sweden's foreign and security policy were strong and unshaken during the nonsocialist government years," Falldin added.

The vice chairman of the Center Party, Karin Soder, is not calling for Olof Palme's resignation.

"No, I do not think one should use foreign policy that way," said Karin Soder. "The threat to our neutrality policy lies in this dubious discussion on the fringes. I think both sides should refrain from polemics," Karin Soder added.

### Liberal Oriented Newspaper Comments

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 10 Dec 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Palme and the Conservatives"]

[Text] As leader of the opposition Olof Palme did not use foreign and security policy issues as partisan weapons. The ability he showed then to exercise restraint in the interests of the nation has unfortunately been lost--or perhaps the desire to display it was lost--when he became prime minister. That is not good.



Most recently in connection with a debate this spring there was reason to suspect that Palme gave a misleading picture of reality when he accused leading segments of the Conservative Party of advocating "a different line" than that of the traditional Swedish neutrality policy. Unfortunately the prime minister returned to this theme in an interview in the Finnish paper HUFVUDSTADSBLADET, which was reprinted in part in SVENSKA DAGBLADET. The latter paper now says that "the limit has been reached and exceeded" and feels that "Olof Palme should quit his post as Swedish prime minister."

Such a sudden demand runs the risk of making the newspaper seem a little ridiculous. In this way the seriously expressed indignation at the prime minister's statements may miss the mark, which would be a shame.

For there are strong reasons to react to the fact that Palme did not give a clear and unambiguous negative reply to the Finnish paper's question as to whether a "nonsocialist government, for example, might pose a risk to the policy of neutrality." It is embarrassing that he gave this evasive reply: "In the first place there is a clear popular majority supporting the traditional neutrality policy and in the second place we will win the election."

In the current situation Olof Palme has the highest responsibility for making it clear to the rest of the world that Swedish neutrality policy will remain firm in the future, as it has in the past--even if there is another change in government.

It is true that the Conservative Party and people with Conservative leanings have asked for conflict time after time, mainly by attacking the government's conduct. Party leader Ulf Adelsohn has charged that the prime minister's foreign policy is "very detrimental to the nation." Retiring Conservative Youth League leader Gunnar Hokmark said at the league's spring meeting that Swedish foreign policy gets better the farther away from it Olof Palme is; he also spoke of "the policy of moral sloppiness." This kind of thing does not convince one of the Conservatives' determination to moderate criticism to benefit unity on foreign and security policy.

Palme's best objective argument in the Finnish interview concerned Carl Bildt's and Gunnar Heckscher's statement in a debate article in DAGENS NYHETER last summer on indications that the Soviet Union would respect Swedish neutrality in the event of war. A careless statement that logically seemed to suggest that our neutrality policy was meaningless. However the two Conservatives did not draw this conclusion. In a later article they wisely stressed the uncertainty of this inference. Palme should be aware of that.

The prime minister must have reason to feel irritated at certain contributions to the debate--just as others are irritated by his behavior. But Olof Palme cannot forbid the publication of differing opinions on some foreign policy issues. Above all it is his job to speak to the outside world on behalf of all the Swedish people and their traditional policy, which no party has questioned.

Responding to criticism is part of the political ground rules. Blaming the Conservatives for a policy they have not advocated is unworthy. It does not benefit Sweden.

## LIBERALS' CONGRESS INCREASES DISTANCE FROM CENTER PARTY

## In Competition With Conservatives

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 22 Nov 84 p 2

[Commentary by Mats Svegfors: "Westerberg's Congress"]

[Text] Immediately following the 1982 election, Bengt Westerberg said, "The advantage for a party which loses 50 percent of its voters is that the gain rises to 100 percent when the lost voters are won back."

The Liberal Party was once more in an impossible situation. Apparently there was no way out. The threat of the four percent limitation hung over the party. Many people seriously began to wonder whether the Liberal Party had at last played its final role in Swedish politics.

Today Bengt Westerberg has won back the old voters; the number of supporters has increased by 100 percent. A level in the polls which both of the other nonsocialist parties would consider catastrophic, Westerberg considers successful, even overwhelming.

Because of his success, all internal criticism has grown silent. Ullsten has moved to Canada and Tham to the Energy Authority. If they represented anyone other than themselves, those others are now being silent. Despite the fact that Bengt Westerberg represents in most cases an entirely different political line than his predecessor, and although he did not achieve the post of party chairman through unified party opinion, he is unopposed today.

At the same time it is reasonable to assume that it was not the Liberal Party's long term goal to stumble around under 10 percent in the opinion polls and elections. It was one thing when Carl Tham determined the strategy. Then the position of overseer was powerful. The Liberal Party was supposed to wait in the shelter for an attack by the Social Democrats against the non-socialists. The Liberal Party should always be ready to cooperate with the Social Democrats. The progressive nonsocialist party should influence the progressive Social Democratic Labor Party in a liberal direction. This was the historic task of the Liberal Party. It could very well be carried out by a segment of voters amounting to less than 10 percent of the electorate.

Personally I believe that Bengt Westerberg has a strategy--in the near term--which will mean that the results for the Liberal Party in the 1985 election will not be of decisive importance. It is reasonable that the highly respected former permanent secretary of the Ministry of Economy and Budget should be given the Ministry of Finance in a nonsocialist election victory. In that case it would be of no great importance if his party got 8 or 12 percent of the votes in the election. The party's long term success would be determined entirely by how he administers the office of finance minister.

A nonsocialist party leader who succeeds in the post of finance minister with the same political skill as Kjell-Olof Feldt has naturally served his party very well.

That is not, however, the complete answer to the question of what is the mission of the Liberal Party in Swedish politics.

The party's long term development will ultimately be determined by the play of ideas and interests in public opinion. The Liberal Party was once developed along the same lines as the Conservative Party. But the Liberal Party became a definite party of ideas. They did not want to retain the special standing of their own class. The idea of equality has always been strong in the liberal tradition. Their own ideas turned against their own interests.

But that is history. Today's Conservative Party represents to a lesser extent than the Liberal Party the hereditary and the financial aristocracy in society. Instead the Conservatives have come to represent the struggling middle class. The party turns equality against its opponents. What the individual fights for besides an equal start in life, the individual can also retain.

The Liberal Party turns its social conscience against that. That is expressed in Westerberg's speech in the somewhat surprising demand for private rooms in the nation's care institutions.

And certainly the social objections have a certain relevance. But they do not all have the same character, they do not lay down the same lines of separation as when Liberals around the turn of the century fought with the Conservatives about the rights of the poor and the starving to food and shelter.

Conflicts in society today do not resemble those at the turn of the century. We have approached an almost historically unlikely equality. Sweden consists of a very large middle class, a small group of rejects (youths, immigrants and other socially excluded groups), and a growing group of unqualified individuals.

Certainly there are social problems, but they have very little to do with real social conflicts. Taxes have not been driven up to over 50 percent to help the rejects and unqualified groups; the middle class pays taxes to help

itself. The political market criers have deluded the middle class into thinking that somebody other than the middle class should pay the housing allowances and the day care subsidies.

The Liberal Party realizes that to a degree. They speak of the forgotten Sweden, the rejects and the unqualified. That is good and that is important. But that does not give the party the social foundation which will guarantee its role in the decades to come.

This means only that in the near future the Liberal Party will of necessity be very close to the Conservatives. Depending on the personalities, one or the other party can win strength at the expense of the other. But the historic differences between the parties must be expected to disappear.

#### Palme's Treatment of USSR Criticized

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Nov 84 p 8

[Article by Kaa Eneberg: "At the Liberals' Political Debate--Marks Against Conservatives and Social Democrats"]

[Text] In the next election the Liberal Party must set themselves distinctly apart from the Social Democrats and the Conservatives.

This was the opinion of most party members who expressed themselves on Friday at the political debate of the congress in Folkets Hus.

This building, owned by the people's movement and adjacent to the LO stronghold, which during the social democratic congress in September was adorned with red banners, changed its decor before the autumn congress to posters with large bouquets of the symbol flower of the Liberal Party, the blue cornflower.

Most of the more than 200 delegates had to pay for their participation out of their own pockets. With only six percent of the voters, the Liberal Party could not afford to pay for hotels or allowances for travelers to the capital. Most party delegates are staying with friends in Stockholm.

"Let the share of collective association be an issue in the election campaign. Compulsory membership of 100,000 people in the Social Democratic Party via the unions is a good illustration of the difference in the view of freedom between the Social Democrats and the Liberals," said Riksdag member Jorgen Ullenhag from the speakers' platform with the blue cornflower.

Chairman of the Youth League, Maria Leissner, was strongly applauded when she urged the party leadership to "reject Ulf Adelsohn's invitation to nonsocialist peace."

"The Conservatives are daydreaming about a two-party system. Let it continue to be a dream," said Maria Leissner.

She pointed out that both the Social Democrats and the Conservatives today lack credibility when they speak of freedom. Social Democrats because they are negotiating with LO over reduced wages, with PRO [Swedish Pensioners' National Organization] over reduced pensions, and they forget about youth unemployment, which is reduced to a tidy statistic.

On the other hand the Conservatives talk about a freedom with "narrow national egotistical boundaries" which the Liberal Party cannot share. Leissner mentioned the Conservatives' desire to reduce aid, and soften the policy against the apartheid regime in South Africa and its cold hand against "people who flee from oppression and persecution to refuge in democratic Sweden."

Several speakers pointed out the party's goal, to look after the "forgotten Sweden," people in extended care institutions who do not have the ability to make their voices heard.

"It is alarming to see how appropriations for day care and extended care centers and vocational training are being reduced. This type of thing hits hardest at society's weakest," said women's chairman Charlotte Branting.

She confirmed that the new poverty which exists in England and France has now cropped up in Sweden.

Newly elected party secretary Peter Orn was given a standing ovation after a short speech in which he identified the Liberal Party as a party which would retain its skepticism of "power and authority," among other things.

For example one should be skeptical when they say that Sweden has a "generous refugee policy," when in fact "armies of police are in pursuit of refugees." When the Social Democratic Government reduces aid, and the aid organ SIDA [Swedish International Development Authority] just remains silent, or "whines about personnel shortages without doing anything for the suffering people."

Peter Orn, former youth chairman, remarked also that the party is economically free, without contributions from the unions (as the Social Democrats) or business (as the Conservatives).

Ylva Annerstedt, Sodertalje, urged the delegates to present concrete examples during the election campaign of how the Social Democratic Government has reduced the freedom of the individual.

'Adapting to the Soviets'

Andres Kung accused the government of too much "adaptation" toward the Soviet Union. As an example he pointed to Foreign Minister Lennart Bodstrom's lack of response in the Riksdag recently when the question of accusations of espionage against Russian embassy personnel was debated.

In today's situation the government should try to get a more balanced Soviet representation in Sweden. Sweden gets along with 15 diplomats in Moscow, while the Russians think they need over 50 people here.

Former Riksdag member Olle Wastberg urged election workers to get the voters to vote "not with their pocketbooks, but with their consciences"--meaning for the Liberal Party and not the Conservative Party.

#### Center Party Warned

Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 24 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Clear Speech to the Center Party"]

[Text] At 12:20 on Friday Karin Soder, vice chairman of the Center Party, came to the speakers' platform at the Liberal Party Congress. She made a fine speech about middle politics and the middle parties as a power in Swedish politics.

Two minutes later Bengt Westerberg held a press conference. It dealt mainly with middle cooperation, or perhaps more accurately the question, "Is there any middle cooperation?"

The question followed naturally after Westerberg's opening speech at the congress. In that speech he sketched the origin and history of the 50-year-old party.

Gustaf Andersson i Rasjon was the party's first chairman. He was a farmer's son, and his father was a supporter of free trade. The father and his fellow believers experienced something like persecution for their political beliefs.

"It is against that background that one should see the reflection of Rasjon in connection with the procession of farmers in his village in the middle of the 1910's," said the leader of the Liberal Party.

Westerberg continued by relating to the memories of Rasjon. "He reacted strongly against the very foundation of the new party. He wrote that belonging to a class was the only motive for political action. ...Rasjon's thoughts are as appropriate today as then. He could not accept common material interest as the norm for party membership. He found something disparaging in a line of reasoning which obviously appealed to the egotistical aims of the members."

At the press conference it was quite clear that the detailed discussion of Rasjon and the farmers association had not slid into Westerberg's speech by chance. The Liberal Party chairman very clearly stated that his party does not have much in common with the Center Party if that party again begins to dress itself in the clothes of the old farmers association.

It can naturally appear that Westerberg in an almost insulting way removed himself from the Center Party's politics of interest. At the seat of honor Karin Soder sat and listened to everything.

But nobody should believe that it was due to consideration for the Liberal Party that the vice chairman of the Center Party emphasized the importance of cooperation in the middle. She and the leaders of her party know that the idea of this cooperation, regardless of how weak the basis for it is, can be of decisive importance for the Center Party's possibilities to dominate an eventual new nonsocialist government.

Through technical electoral cooperation with KDS [Christian Democratic Union] the Center Party has guaranteed itself the votes in the internal nonsocialist struggle for which party will get the post of prime minister and thereby form the government.

If the Center Party can keep the idea of middle cooperation alive, Bengt Westerberg's political freedom is restricted. Then he will never be able to consider any other alternative than that which means that Thorbjorn Falldin will again be prime minister; if the active members of the Liberal Party actually believe that middle cooperation is still alive, they will not tolerate any form of deviation on the right. Then the Center Party will also lay claim to the Liberal Party's votes.

That is not to say that Westerberg would prefer Adelsohn to Falldin. But one thing is clear. Westerberg will not be enticed into being responsible for the economy in a government which will expand food subsidies and farm support.

Mainly there is beginning to be internal doubts within the Liberal Party about which course the Center Party really wants to follow.

In a very clear, not to say harsh way, the Liberal Party has indicated that the margins of tolerance for deviations by the former middle brothers are small.

#### Liberal Newspaper Assesses Congress

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 24 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Liberal Party Finds Itself"]

[Text] After more than a year with Bengt Westerberg as leader the Liberal Party is beginning to find itself.

Gone is the pretentious idea of the party's key parliamentary role and special responsibility for the country which the Liberals often expressed during the government years. The congress which began yesterday was marked by a clearer ideological understanding of the Liberal Party's mission and of a greater realism in the view of what a little party can accomplish.



It has been a painful process which demanded much more personnel changes than just a change in the post of party chairman. Former cabinet ministers have in other cases left politics, and others have faded into the background.

By selecting Peter Orn as party secretary, Westerberg is investing in a younger generation which has its youth league time just behind it. At the same time he is forming firm bonds with the only organized group which previously was skeptical about him as the new party leader.

But today's Bengt Westerberg is not exactly the same person who came in following the extended change in party leaders. Then he strongly reflected his time as permanent secretary in the Budget Department, and was motivated by an opinion which was largely based on dissatisfaction with the social-liberal line and the belief that this moved voters over to the Conservatives. In the beginning Westerberg also appeared to believe that he had a mandate, regardless of what the previous congress had decided, to set the Liberal Party's course.

To a certain extent this has also had lasting results. The Liberal Party's involvement in nonsocialist government cooperation and against the wage earner funds is now more concrete. The right to choose private alternatives to public care and service has become an important part of the Liberal Party message, and the same applies to the opposition without compromise to any tax increases.

But in other areas it is actually the Liberal Party which has influenced Westerberg. The idea of alcohol rationing, which he unexpectedly asked for just after he took office, has been turned into a statement by the party leadership before the congress. The ambition to reduce taxes and reduce public expenditures remains, but now it is more a matter of adjusting than of changing the system.

Westerberg has systematically traveled around the country to stimulate chastened Liberals, and he has become involved in new areas. Now he no longer needs to generalize on a market economy basis when talking about foreign aid, social policy or schools. Instead he has largely adopted the social-liberal line which has long belonged to the Liberal Party, and continued it with a demand for better economic conditions for families with children and an effort to give all patients in extended care and other institutions private rooms.

Westerberg's introductory speech at the congress showed that he has broadened considerably, as much in knowledge of facts as in political understanding. It contained both market economy tones and social involvement, the striving for ideological freedom and awareness that the world's poor and hungry need support. The assembled Liberals easily recognized the tones, and expressed their strong approval.

Still they should wonder a bit about the reasoning that freedom above a social safety net which Westerberg advanced in his speech really should belong

to the Liberal Party. That could of course be interpreted as a limit on the social-political ambitions to include a designated group as the "least favored"--a policy which previously belonged to the Conservatives. The difference between them is primarily the social-liberal ambition to oppose the formation of social chasms between different groups in society.

An ideological debate would certainly not damage the newly found harmony which was expressed at the congress. It surely seems like a pleasant change for the active party members, but the compact unity could make a somewhat monotonous impression on the outsiders which the Liberal Party is trying to win over.

But perhaps tameness in the internal debates can be neutralized by the new party secretary Peter Orn's ambition to bring more humor into the Liberal Party. During the party's 50-year history there has never been a surplus of that commodity.

#### Closer to Conservatives

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 26 Nov 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Liberal Party With Falldin Against Center Party"]

[Text] A debate about whether future shorter working hours should be instituted first in the form of a 6-hour working day became the only time that things heated up in the Liberal Party Congress. Accusations of "forced guidance" and "sloppy arguments" were thrown about by the opponents and supporters of the 6-hour day. But the party leadership, which wants the people themselves to decide in what form shorter working hours will be implemented, won by a large margin.

This was characteristic of how things have gone during the 3-day congress. The Liberal Party is more unified than in a long time, and the party leadership is at the same time sufficiently flexible to avoid defeat. Therefore they went along with the clarification of possibilities for introducing deductions for child care costs, despite that such a proposal was previously voted down by the party directors.

Further the party leadership agreed to the FPU demand for a reduction--although temporary--of social fees for youths under 22 years, and for a long range, now entirely symbolic, two percent target for foreign aid. At the same time the recurrent recommendations from the same quarter about quotas for parents' dwellings and prohibition of weapons export were rejected.

In his introductory speech Bengt Westerberg tried to draw up ideological lines of separation against the Social Democrats and the Conservatives. But in practice, the congress preferred to allow itself to be guided by his criticism that the policy of the Center Party is based on special interests. In what was called a "miniprogram" for future government cooperation, Westerberg made demands for abolition of the radio-TV monopoly and the right

of patients to choose their own doctor--both with the request for concessions from the Center Party.

And so it continued: Criticism of the Center Party's position in the food products committee was strong, even though former Minister of Agriculture Eric Enlund expressed doubts that considering the costs, the party should really carry out its demands. Also in family policy the lines of division were drawn against the Center Party, which with its proposal about taxing care subsidies will create new difficulties for parents of small children.

The difference between the Liberal and the Center Parties has grown despite the appeal by Karin Soder in her speech of greetings. The dilemma of the Liberal Party--if it should come to government negotiations--is that they support Thorbjorn Falldin's claim to again be prime minister, but at the same time in various imaginable conflict questions they are closer to the Conservatives. Bengt Westerberg does not directly criticize Center Party cooperation with KDS, yet Falldin's tactical tricks have of course reduced confidence.

One positive outcome of the last day of the congress was that the Liberal Party through Ingemar Eliasson reacted quickly to signals from the SAF [Swedish Employers' Confederation] Congress about abolishing the right of public employees to arbitrate. Eliasson, who called the proposal "unwise and unrealistic" said that a prohibition would lead to strikes and irresponsible behavior on the part of public employees.

That action can also serve as a denial of the charge that SAF directs how the Liberal Party shapes its policies.

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## GREEN PARTY LONG WAY FROM FOUR PERCENT RIKSDAG THRESHOLD

Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 17 Nov 84 p 32

[Article by Kari Huhta: "Vote Threshold Produces Concern"]

[Text] Stockholm--Sweden's Environment Party wants to be in the Parliament, but the 4 percent vote threshold is a tough nut to crack. It was too much in the previous elections in 1982. New methods have subsequently been refined for crossing the threshold in the elections to be held next autumn.

Clarification of economic problems as "pocketbook issues," taking a stand on individual problems like daycare, and a more distinct and consistent appearance in the election campaign are some formulas, mention Arneta Dreber and Jan Carlsson, who belong to the party's leadership.

They admit the last elections were a big disappointment. The Environment Party was founded in the autumn of 1981 with great expectations. Sweden's national referendum on nuclear power had raised interest in environmental issues. Forecasts in the spring of 1982 promised that the required 4 percent of the votes were there, but support fell off as the elections approached.

Current problems and the reasons for the election loss enumerated by Dreber and Carlsson are the same which many small parties consider as the reason for their smallness. It takes time to scrape up money, the press does not provide coverage, and the state does not provide money when there are no representatives in the Parliament and the organization is still makeshift.

The Environment Party's leadership is scattered around Sweden. The married couple of Dreber and Carlsson are among the few leaders who live in Stockholm.

According to Jan Carlsson, however, the future goal will be to make the faces of some party representatives familiar to the people. But Environment Party representatives will not become professional politicians.

Party leader Ragnhild Skanks, who is not called the party chairman, received publicity during the summer by insisting that politics should not be anyone's profession. The speech got a mixed reception, nor is it certain that many new votes will be picked up with this theme.

"Politicians ought to be very skillful amateurs," explains Jan Carlsson.

If the Environment Party's skillful amateurs should make their way into the Parliament, they would concentrate mainly on environmental questions. The party's basic purpose must not be forgotten at the expense of other issues, especially Dreier and Farisdon. The real is not to win a majority, but rather the Environment Party wants to force the other parties to pay better attention to environmental issues.

In general policy, the Environment Party stresses the need for small production units. Industry, trade unions and even wage earners funds are hostile.

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### Parliament's Decisions

As early as 1969, Parliament declared Faeroe Islands neutral with respect to the superpowers and prohibited foreign powers from establishing military installations there. A parliamentary majority confirmed this decision only last year. At about the same time, the Faroese government, Landstyre, and Torshavn county authorized the modernization of Torshavn air base. The detection equipment was to be made even more effective and this led to a demonstration in the spring of 1983, in which approximately 200 people participated in a 14-kilometer long peace march from Torshavn to the air base in Mjorkadal.

Various Danish governments have ignored all Faroese protests and parliamentary decisions on the basis that foreign and security policies are not the concerns of a home rule government.

### People for Peace

The Faroese peace movement "People for Peace," which considers the removal of NATO from Faeroe Islands one of its primary objectives, is greatly disturbed about the student poll. Pastor Kjartan Morkore, a leading force in "People for Peace," feels that the polling results were purely and simply due to fear of the Soviet Union. He blames the controversial Oli Breckmann, who besides being a people's Party representative of both the Danish and Faroese Parliament is also the editor of DAGBLADET.

"He has led a heated campaign against the peace movement in DAGBLADET, conveying the impression that the Soviet Union will occupy Faeroe Islands the very day NATO departs. This has apparently frightened the population so that of the two evils it chose NATO.

"It now becomes our duty to convince the people of the truth of the matter. Our basic argument is precisely that NATO's presence makes Faeroe Islands a target of the Soviets in a conflict between the superpowers," said Morkore.

The junior college students also asked the Faeroese about their attitude toward EC, and on this issue there was unanimity. More than 90 percent of all party voters felt Faeroe Islands should remain outside the European Community.

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## DEFENSE PROCUREMENT BUDGET UNDER HARD PARLIAMENTARY SCRUTINY

## Werner's Presentation to Committee

Bonn WEHRDIENST in German 5 Nov 84 p 1 [Supplement]

[Text] On the Federal Armed Forces Planning; What Defense Minister Woerner Told the Members of the Budget and Defense Committee About the New Armed Forces Planning: Objectives of the Defense Planning:

Against the background of conceptual priorities and altered framework conditions for the 1990's, it was necessary not only to develop ideas in the area of personnel and structure, but also to fit the defense planning into the overall concept in order to assure the harmony of personnel, structure and armament. The work on last year's Bundeswehr plan (BwPl 85) made it clear that it was essential to establish priorities in defense planning.

Therefore, by order of the BMVg [Federal Ministry for Defense], a Stocktaking of Defense Planning was begun in January 1984, with the goal of

- reinforcing conventional combat strength by reducing recognized risks and weak points
- creating foundations for decision-making for the major projects of Armored Combat Units 90 and Fighter 90, which can only be decided within the framework of overall planning, but which must be decided this year, in particular on the basis of federal, technological and industrial aspects. The goal for this is to design the armament volume to fit the defense volume.

The starting point was evaluating last year's Armed Forces plan (BwPl 85) to see how the Armed Forces will be able to fulfill their task until the year 1997. As a result, weak points showed up, particularly in the areas of intelligence, electronic warfare, munitions procurement, air defense and medical service. The focus of the additional studies was therefore to reduce these weak points.

Special aspects for each service branch, which had to be taken into account on the basis of previous planning, are:

Army: By 1987 a distinct increase in combat strength against an armored enemy can be established with the addition of the LEOPARD 2. There is danger,



however, that the effect of the armored combat vehicles will be greatly reduced by the superior artillery fire and combat helicopters of the Warsaw Pact, which is the reason for the shift in emphasis after 1987 to procurement planning in the area of combat support troops. Primarily the addition of the MARS intermediate artillery rocket system and the 155-1 armored howitzer will result in a clear increase in the capability to control enemy artillery. The urgently needed modernization of armored combat troops 90 cannot begin until 1996 because of financial limitations.

**Air Force:** Up to 1989 the emphasis is on procurement of the TORNADO in the field of air attack. After 1989 a shift in emphasis takes place with the acquisition of PATRIOT/ROLAND for the air defense sector, which will then dominate completely with the addition of Fighter 90. After the mid-1990's only a small amount of procurement money will therefore be available for other tasks. It was necessary, with this rapid succession of major weapons systems, to create sufficient margin for moderate procurement of the necessary peripheral equipment, including ammunition.

**Navy:** The plans show a balance of platform and peripheral equipment. In the 1980's the executive ability for combat deeply into the Baltic territory will be strengthened with the addition of 112 TORNADOs and the modernization of 12 submarines of the 206 class. By maintaining the performance capability of the S-boat components and with the introduction of helicopter gunships by converting the existing SEA-KING helicopters, the capability of repelling attacks on and above the sea in the Baltic and the Baltic approaches will be increased. After the beginning of the 1990's, the emphasis will be shifted to escort and area protection in the North Sea and neighboring waters with the acquisition of 6 211-Class submarines, reconnaissance/antisubmarine aircraft and 124-Class frigates with onboard helicopters to replace the outdated combat component. At the end of the procurement period the emphasis will again be in the Baltic, starting with the acquisition of a new submarine generation. Throughout the entire planning period the projects of mine warfare for the North Sea and the Baltic Sea and the procurement of a new generation of ammunition and peripheral equipment have equal priority. It was essential to retain this balance in the planning.

**Research and Development:** Furthermore, it was necessary distinctly to improve the target area of R & D. This field had had to accept particularly large cuts, with the result that

- the development funds for Fighter 90 were completely cut out, and
- even today several fields in leading technology still have no funds included in their plans.

#### **Result of the Defense Planning:**

It was possible to meet the essential goals of the study. The intelligence potential, the electronic warfare capability and supply of ammunition will be improved (qualitatively and quantitatively) for the Armed Forces. This becomes especially clear by the example of an increased appropriation for

ammunition. An increase to DM 3.3 billion by 1988 and to DM 4.8 billion by 1998 has been provided for, the goal being to achieve a stockpile margin of 30 combat days for existing and yet to be added weapon systems, and simultaneously to include the use of intelligent ammunition in the plans.

A marked increase in appropriations was achieved for the R & D area. This is necessary in order to accomplish the procurement intentions regarding development technology for the 1990's, after the large encroachments of the last few years. Modern weapons technology requires a development headstart of 10 or more years.

The following essential focal points for the three service branches and for the medical service were established:

Army: Initially, the risk remains that the LEOPARD 1, with its upgraded combat effectiveness, cannot keep pace with the level of threat from the future Soviet battle tanks of the 1990's. With the procurement, postponed until 1994, of 1,700 antitank vehicles with the 120-mm smooth-bore cannon and 796 antitank/antihelicopter vehicles with guided missiles, it is possible not only to reduce this risk, but at the same time to counter the threat of helicopter gunships in the battlefield.

The intended increase in antitank capability lessens the imbalance in strength with a combination of modern weapon systems, in which zone fire weapons (MARS, the 155-1 and M-109 tank howitzers), PAH-2 antitank helicopters and armored combat vehicles with cannon and guided missiles will take over antitank duties alongside the battle tanks. With this system, combinations of combat duties can be effected in a single weapon system, such as one combat vehicle for both antitank and antihelicopter defense.

The introduction of a Battle Tank 3 as the successor to LEOPARD 1 will not be considered a possibility until a later date, in order to be able to utilize modern technology commensurate with the tank threat at that time, and to be able to achieve genuine progress in technology for the LEOPARD 2.

Air Force: With the conclusion of the TORNADO acquisition, the Air Force will reach a high level of air-strike capability for the platform systems. In order fully to utilize these systems, improvements over what was previously planned will have to be provided in the area of peripheral systems, mainly in the field of third-generation ammunition. Therefore, beginning in the intermediate period, the plans for modern ammunition and the combat effectiveness upgrading connected with it must be increased by DM 3.5 billion by 1997.

Navy: The overall balanced level of planning between carrier platforms--ships and aircraft-- on the one hand and the peripheral equipment of the weapons systems--equipment and weapons, including ammunition-- on the other was retained.

Since Parliament has already had to accept a large number of stupidities of this kind from Woerner's predecessors, the Budget Committee is unwilling to accept any more in the future. Brigitte Traupe considers the parliamentary self-confidence and the increased awareness of the control function to be a positive development, since the opposition and the coalition largely agree on the issue. She says, however: "I am curious to see how long the government representatives will be allowed to join in that."

This time they still joined, although not with respect to the billion-mark cuts in the defense budget demanded by the SPD. Still--the qualified blocking of the budget decided by the government coalition will also have an effect, since some weapon systems which have priority on Woerner's new arms list are affected by it: Antiaircraft systems, the rocket ammunition for them, combat vehicles, ships and aircraft--a procurement volume starting in 1985 of at least DM 35 billion.

If the defense minister wants to realize his plans he will have to hurry up, because the blocked funds will only be freed if Manfred Woerner "submits information based on reality," to the Budget Committee, according to its chairman Rudi Walther.

To be sure, Walther grants the defense minister "that his procurement programs are not as easy to produce as when building a house," but, on the other hand, it must be made clear to the government that it "cannot make rough estimates." Brigitte Traupe explains what the Budget Committee wants. "We want to know from the beginning exactly how the individual phases will take place, from the conception, through the definition, the development all the way to procurement, so that nothing can get out of hand, as before." CDU member Lutz Stavenhagen sees it similarly: "The past has made us clever."

The defense minister should actually even be grateful to the representatives for such parliamentary solicitude. Because of the blocking he will scarcely run the risk of one day ending up in political difficulty because of escalating costs, as was the case with SPD Defense Minister Hans Apel, who suddenly had no money in the war chest in order to pay bills due for the Tornado fighter. "Clarity and truth in housekeeping," as SPD defense expert Erwin Horn demands of Manfred Woerner, is thus the best self-protection for the defense minister.

So far he has not taken it seriously, as is evident in the German-American weapons trade concerning the Patriot/Roland antiaircraft system. The object of the trade: The Armed Forces buy the U.S. counterweapon system for antiaircraft defense, the United States in return buys the German Roland antiaircraft system for vulnerable point protection. While Manfred Woerner celebrates the deal as a major breakthrough in the comradeship-in-arms with the Americans, the opposition blames him for the fact that so far Patriot has not even reached the stage of series production. On the other hand, the costs have increased considerably; the rockets for it have gone up 50 percent in price, according to the most recent budget figures.

A similar situation exists in the planned procurement of the MARS intermediate artillery rocket system. Within a year the project--200 MARS systems--has increased about 10 percent in cost.

The MARS system has quite another problem, to be sure. SPD representative Erwin Horn says: "The system cannot be transported by rail. The proof that it is ready to go into production is still missing. The system is not acceptable in its present design." It is feared that a new acceptable design will lead to additional cost increases.

For other weapon systems, the defense minister must also get a move on in order to contain the costs which have risen in the space of one year. The seven new intermediate-range aircraft held in readiness for the Armed Forces and for government members have become 44.5 percent more expensive. The price per aircraft grew from DM 31.8 million to 46 million.

The Defense Ministry sees no cost increase in that, however. On the contrary; at the low price, what is involved is a so-called fly-away price (a stripped-down aircraft), at the high price it is the system price (aircraft including replacement parts and accessories). Be that as it may, the information so far has not served to provide the necessary clarity. And Manfred Woerner is apparently continuing his predecessors' game of confusing the parliamentarians with constantly different information.

Woerner's hit list of new weapon systems includes a whole series of additional cost increases. The following will become more expensive:

- The CL 289 reconnaissance drone, by 15 percent;
- the German-French PAH 2 antitank helicopter, by 17 percent;
- Development costs for upgrading the combat effectiveness of the Phantom fighter aircraft, by 121 percent, and the upgrading of the 103 B-class destroyer, by 13.5 percent;
- The improvement of the Marder armored personnel carrier, by 27 percent;
- Changes in the wings of the Transall transport aircraft, by 71 percent.

In the opinion of and according to information by the Defense Ministry, there are good reasons for the abovementioned price increases. Sometimes the high exchange rates prove to be of use, other times the increase in value-added tax has to lend a percentage point. Quite normal cost increases are held to be an additional explanation, as are technically necessary changes in the systems. Sometimes, finally, all four factors are included, which is always the case when the cost increases turn out to be particularly high.

All the same: If the annual cost increases of Woerner's new arms plans for the 1990's continue in the coming years as before, then the overall framework of Woerner's budget--about 150 billion according to the ministry's calculations, about 240 billion according to those of the Greens--will soon be just so much waste paper. The defense minister will not be able to use the annual growth rates, which the finance minister has given him, to pay for any of the abovementioned amounts. Woerner's budget is to grow 3.7 percent per year until 1988.

Small wonder that the Bundestag's Budget Committee has made a distinctly sober evaluation of the Armed Forces plans. In a summary of the budget debate on the defense budget, the Woerner plan is merely evaluated as "the defense minister's in-house plan," which due to its general financial provisions "must not be overlooked in its importance."

After the turn of events in Bonn, planning also does not seem to be exactly the greatest strength of the Defense Ministry and of the responsible top men there. This is no different for major Armed Forces projects than for minor ones, as the Budget Committee reported somewhat by the by. In the committee's advisory report it is possible to read: "When it comes to clothing the troops, the Defense Ministry has too late realized the physical size of the young conscripts." Thus, while designed to withstand wind and weather, provide camouflage and protect against ABC weapons, "the standard poncho is uncomfortable to wear and so small and tight for many soldiers, that they can hardly move in it."

An additional conclusion: "The Armed Forces shoes have been infrared tested against night vision, but they let the rain through, so that rubber overshoes must be developed for them. Hand and face protection are inadequate, in particular for tank drivers."

11949

CSO: 3620/127



## REPORTED ACCEPTANCE OF KKE DEMANDS

Athens AKROPOLIS in Greek 14 Nov 85 pp 1, 7

[Excerpts] The Papandreou government continues to give in to the communists and now does so even in the sensitive area of the Armed Forces where the KKE is exerting methodical and relentless pressure.

Thus, yesterday, the civilian responsible for the Armed Forces, the general of the Raiders, Mr. And. Drosogiannis, tolerated the "stern" reproaches and yielded to the demands of the young university students that the KKE sent to him yesterday.

In fact, the "front" majority of EFEE [National Student Union of Greece] demanded that the anniversary of the Polytechnic riots be celebrated in the barracks. When Mr. Drosogiannis, in order to find an excuse, said that there was no presidential decree allowing it, the KKE envoys reproached him. They told him--as they themselves allege--that "the government could solve the problem quickly because the militant indoctrination of the soldiers is of importance!"

After this stern reproach, the Raiders' general, Andonis Drosogiannis said that the soldiers have the right to organize concerts in their units, but that political discussions are prohibited.

However, the KKE's men had another demand: they demanded that the soldiers be allowed to participate freely in the demonstration organized for Saturday in front of the US Embassy. Mr. Drosogiannis--according to the EFEE reports--yielded here also. He promised that Saturday there will be no additional watches or standby alert--other than the regular ones. The soldiers are free to participate in the demonstration, but only in civilian clothes.

9731

CSO:3521/85

## AIRCRAFT PURCHASE ANALYZED, CENSORED, REJECTED

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 21 Nov 84 pp 6-7

/Article by K. Kolmer: "The Foolishness of the Century"/

/Text/ The peace mediations in Eluda, between the Libyan dictator Qaddafi and the French president Mitterand, did not permit the proper publicity of the other "act of bravery" of Mr Andreas Papandreou: the "purchase of the century".

It is about the decision of the Greek government to proceed, within the next 3 years, with the procurement of 80 warplanes from the American industrial firm General Dynamics and the French Dassault for a total cost of 2.8 billion dollars or 350 billion drachmae at the current rates.

This sum, that corresponds to 137% of all the post war foreign investment capital in Greece, to 22% of the government foreign loans, and to 7% of the yearly national product (1984), will cost each Greek man and woman 35,000 drachmae.

In other words, last week we became about 5% poorer than our per capita income with one signature of Mr Papandreou, without counting the interest and the famous "offsetting", that is to say the investment counter balances that surely will raise the social cost of the market to more than three billion dollars.

Consequently it is worth dealing with, even if it is with a few words and of course after the fact, with the new "success" of Mr Papandreou, that is his binding the air defense of the country to 40 Mirages of the 2000 type and 40 F-16's for a period of 15 years, that is until the last years of the present century.

The questions the Papandreou government is asked to answer were something like this:

The rejuvenation of the military air force with one or more types of modern aircraft.

The total cost of this rejuvenation and the method of payment, and

The alternate solutions in case the decision is postponed.



First of all, it is said that our warplanes in use (Mirages, Phantoms, and A-4's) have been declining in their value and soon will be obsolete. This viewpoint is relative. It depends on what corresponding airplanes our rivals, real or potential, have and what type of plane is destined to replace the ones in use.

And the northern maligners of the western way of living have remained with the MIG-21 that has proven to be lesser not only of the Phantom but the Mirage too (6 day war between Lebanon, Syria and Israel) and will not get another attack airplane before 1999, while the easterners and relentless friends of ours, the Turks, preferred the F-16, but through the method of co-production with General Dynamics (that will cost them only 1 million dollars) that will begin after 1990.

This, that is the last word of the Turkish choice would be enough not to prefer the already lagging F-16 as against i.e. the superior F-16 of MacDonald Douglass or even the Mirage 2000 that, according to Mr Drosogiannis, "is feared by the Turks", as if it were the genie of Sevakh the seaman.

Because, if, may it never happen, the Turks attack the islands of the southeastern Aegean with more F-16's than the Greeks, then the short hour victory will be judged by the quality, that is how many airplanes Greece will be able to keep in the air. A fact that depends upon ground support and firepower that is combined with speed, maneuvering and the electronic equipment of the airplanes. By our having F-16's too, and indeed less than the Turks (120-160) and the dubious Mirage 2000's makes the superiority of our neighbors almost certain.

Besides, the tremendous cost of 100 modern type aircraft that we are supposed to need, about 3 billion dollars, first of all calls for the standardization of the equipment. That is to say, that poor Greece cannot afford financially to have two different types of aircraft that call for double the expenses for training, spare parts and the coordination of weapons systems. The government must choose one. And what is said about "national independence" is idle talk, literally, because a local war will last a few, of course critical, hours, a world war will not allow any room for resupplies, perhaps because all the countries will have been destroyed.

Also we cannot understand why our poor little Greece must pay 3 billion dollars from its deficit when other western countries are supplied with their aircraft from the alliance, such as e.g. Italy from the USA and Spain. Perhaps so that we can maintain the hallucination of the "proud and unbound foreign policy" that we know very well how much it is worth? The use of the American credits for the bases is not a method of payment, because these credits should be a rental (as in the Philippines) and not a loan, even a long term one. And in any case we will be paying the French in hard currency that will be taken from education or our investments.

What should we have done in this case? Not necessarily what the Greek Air Industry proposed in a confidential report, to prefer the F-16 mentioned earlier or even wait for the less expensive F-20 of Northrop that seems to be more modernized also, but rather to use some of the American credits for the bases for the electronic modernization of the Phantoms and the A4 Corsairs as well as for the missile equipment of our navy. And let us not forget that Britain won in the Falklands with Harriers, an airplane of the 60's and that we lost Cyprus despite our supposed superiority in the air.

9346

CSO: 3521/105

MILITARY

PORTUGAL

#### PORTUGUESE NAVY TO GET FRIGATES

Lisbon TEMPO in Portuguese 25 Oct 84 p 5

[Excerpt] Admiral Sousa Leitao, Navy chief of staff, is pleased. With Dr Figueiredo Lopes, secretary of state for defense, at his side, he told TEMPO: "You can announce that we will get the frigates." Dr Figueiredo Lopes gave the details: the frigates will cost around \$650 million (104 million contos) and will be delivered in three years. Portugal is contributing \$110 million (17.6 million contos) which it will subsequently receive in orders for its shipyards. The United States alone is contributing \$250 million, but in equipment. Germany is contributing \$220 million, and other NATO countries (Canada, the United Kingdom, Norway and Luxembourg) are contributing the remainder. The matter will be wrapped up within the next few months and the contracts should be signed by December. Finally, the Portuguese Navy has succeeded.

Dr Figueiredo Lopes and Adm Sousa Leitao had other important news, also. The Mague firm will sell cranes to the American naval bases, and the assumption is that the ships of the Sixth Fleet will still be repaired in Lisbon; however, due to its domestic deficit, the United States may decide to use its own shipyards. As far as aircraft repairs in Alverca are concerned, the first aircraft motors shipped via the Sixth Fleet should arrive shortly. German aircraft from Beja Air Base will also be repaired and inspected in Alverca.

8844

CSO: 3542/38

## MILITARY PLANNERS UNEASY OVER RABAT-TRIPOLI PACT

Madrid ABC in Spanish 6 Nov 84 p 27

/Text/ The National Defense Council, which will meet this afternoon under the presidency of his majesty the king, will move forward with the study of the Joint Strategic Plan /PEC/, a document that comprises the potential threats to Spain and the means of avoiding them and which the government wishes to have approved before the end of the year.

The meeting that the National Defense Council will hold today is the fourth to be held this year, and very probably there will be a fifth session of this organization before the beginning of 1985. The council will analyze the strength objectives of the three armies, which have been drawn up by the respective general headquarters and which are necessary for the development of the PEC. In said reports the three armies give details of the human and material strength they need to fulfill the objectives established in the Instructions for National Defense, which were announced, as is mandatory, by the prime minister. Also the National Defense Council will study the defense plans developed by the civilian ministries, which also form an important part of the national defense.

Special attention to the defense of the axis Balearics-Peninsula-Canaries becomes important in the light of the Libya-Morocco agreement, which according to military sources could introduce new factors at the time of formation of the Joint Strategic Plan. Nonetheless, the minister of defense, in recent statements, said that he could not give an answer to the question of whether the treaty would affect the PEC. "I am not in a position to make commentaries, not because of diplomatic considerations, but because the PEC will come up for discussion after certain schemes that will be revealed at the meeting to be held by the National Defense Council. To talk now would be to speak without knowing the basic facts," said the minister.

But the Libya-Morocco agreement which the Ministry of Defense is "following with interest," threatens the Spanish strongholds of Ceuta and Melilla, and it is precisely these cities which "cannot defend themselves from within," according to the statements of Lt Gen Alvarez Zalba, which were the reason for his dismissal as captain general of Zaragoza. The government has not said anything about this yet, although Narciso Serra commented that "public opinion can rest assured." The general line of the defense policy, in spite of the fact that it is classified material, causes commentaries from the opposition to the effect that the Ministry of Defense "works extensively on its military policy but does not seem to have a defense policy."

## PAPER CONCERNED OVER RISING UNEMPLOYMENT

Godthaab GRONLANDSPOSTEN in Danish 31 Oct 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Drastic Remedy for Unemployment"]

[Text] Over the years, both the Provincial Council and Parliament have discussed the threatening problem of youth unemployment on Greenland. Predictions of 10,000 unemployed Greenlanders do, indeed, provide food for thought, and we are now quickly approaching the realization of these predictions. At the end of May this year, there were 2,413 unemployed among approximately 22,000 workers on Greenland, and of the 2,413 unemployed 2,405 were Greenlanders. The cup is about to run over and, based on this realization, Parliament has proposed a drastic remedy for Greenland's unemployment.

At a meeting last Monday, Parliament approved several measures to counter the unemployment. Legislation that gives Greenlanders greater priority than other job applicants shall apply to all areas of employment on Greenland, including defense.

Non-Greenlanders shall be given employment on an annual basis. The same conditions shall apply to local and other employees with respect to housing and moving compensation. And young Greenlanders who are now being educated shall be guaranteed work.

Parliament will take another look at the unemployment problem next year, and it hopes that the above-mentioned measures will halt the labor market's lopsided development on Greenland. The influx of outsiders is growing, while the unemployment situation among Greenlanders is becoming more and more ill-fated.

The misery can be ascribed to one of modern Greenland's most controversial bills, namely the birthplace bill, which favors non-Greenland labor. Housing is always included when a person not born on Greenland is employed and, considering the constant housing shortage, the birthplace criterion has served as a wall for young educated Greenlanders seeking employment. The birthplace bill has created problems in many areas on Greenland, not least in the relationship between Danes and Greenlanders.

Now equal employment conditions shall prevail and the drastic remedy adopted should not be viewed as reverse discrimination. Certainly, no one is interested in educating young Greenlanders to become permanent welfare recipients.

8952

CSO: 3613/39

TIGHTER ENVIRONMENTAL CODES MAY END AGRICULTURAL SURPLUSES

Duesseldorf WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE in German 26 Oct 84 pp 50-53

[Interview with Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle conducted by WIRTSCHAFTSWOCHE editors Bolke Behrens and Dieter Brunowsky; date and place not indicated: "Bonn's Shrewdness"]

[Text] Agriculture Minister Ignaz Kiechle wants to continue his agricultural surplus reduction policies although the farmers are highly displeased with his new milk market policies. In the long run, he wants to resolve the surplus problem through increased environmental protection.

[Question] Mr. Minister, only one occupational group in the FRG has its own minister: agriculture. Consumers have no representation in government--is that a blatant imbalance?

[Answer] I don't see any such imbalance. Here, too, suppliers and demanders depend on each other. In addition, agriculture--unlike industry with its mini-chips and robots--continues to depend on such natural factors as soil and climate and thus is hard to manage.

[Question] And this is to be paid for with ever-increasing subsidies? According to consumer groups, they have now reached about DM 15 billion.

[Answer] German farmers shouldn't be worse off than their colleagues in other EEC countries. But so far, farmers in the FRG have come out worse. Also, farmers should participate in general economic growth. After all, they do work at least 40 hours a week--in most instances, considerably more--and they hardly get any vacation.

[Question] That means that one occupational group wants the secure incomes and social safeguards that employees enjoy, but at the same time, the freedom of the self-employed. Where is there the market economy where the entrepreneur must take risks--and after all, farmers should also participate.

[Answer] Surely, self-employed farmers shouldn't compare themselves with employees. But if what remains is an economic philosophy which boils down to who can produce the cheapest way--that, from a social point of view, is not alright.

[Question] It seems many people are still thinking of the proud past of the "Reichsnaehrstand" [Nazi farm policy] ...

[Answer] Certainly, some memories linger on. After all, we did have competitive production schemes and the motto was: hand it over, don't sell it in the market. And in the EEC, the motto is: Those who want to keep pace, must outproduce. Suddenly, there is so much production that it can't be sold anymore. We now have to adapt to the market because otherwise the system will break down. The adaptation could be done by price deregulation--with the result that the weaker ones would be sacrificed. We've chosen to accomplish it by cutting supplies. That means some anger, as is now the case with regard to milk.

[Question] Some anger? It appears that, in Bavaria, we are already having an October revolution, and at the CSU convention, President Gustav Suehler of the Bavarian Farmers Association demanded that "at long last, you rely on your common sense."

[Answer] So I've made a noble understatement. There is a lot of anger. But agriculture simply has to adapt--or to express it in a better way--: go back to the old ways. I was still taught that there is an optimal use of land and cattle. We now know that this striving for the highest possible return carries ecological risks.

[Question] For CSU Minister Kiechle, the Greens are evidently his natural allies.

[Answer] If their views on some specifics weren't so eccentric, they probably would be. But they would rather lie down in front of military barracks than worry about farmers.

[Question] After all, ecological farming comes from the philosophy of the Greens. Do you believe in that, too?

[Answer] One doesn't immediately have to go to extremes. But I am going to provide the same assistance to those farmers who are using less chemicals as I will to the others.

[Question] First of all, that will mean a loss of income for the ecologically conscious farmer. Are there going to be new subsidies?

[Answer] No. But if we are going to strengthen our environmental laws in the years to come and, by so doing, restrict agricultural production, then there will, of course, be an adjustment in income. However, that will not come from FRG public funds ...



[Question] ... but the consumer will have to pay higher prices. That's a clever solution: On the one hand, surplus production is being cut, on the other, the environment will be protected. And the costs will be passed on.

[Answer] But the burden of environmental protection must not be carried by the farmers alone. And I'm quite sure that such a solution via the price mechanism is going to mean considerable tax savings.

[Question] That's something you'll have to explain to some of your EEC colleagues.

[Answer] The Dutch, who already are so proud of their outstanding productivity in farming, and the Danes as well admit quite openly that they have increasing problems with soil stability and groundwater. Our thinking with regard to restricting production and expanding environmental protection will, therefore, be more acceptable than we now think.

[Question] As for the highly controversial issue of cutting milk production, the Bavarian in Bonn doesn't even have the ear of Bavarian Minister President Franz Josef Strauss, while CSU chief Helmut Kohl is giving you his full support. Your statement that the chancellor is a friend of the farmers may conceivably be interpreted as friendly protection of the agriculture minister against his own party friends.

[Answer] There is some conflict of interest between Bonn and Munich because we have specific Bavarian wishes and problems which--if applied to the Federal Republic--cannot be put into effect 100 percent. But Strauss is not a provincial politician and, therefore, he knows these problems. Of course, as minister president, he will represent the problems of Bavaria.

[Question] And once in a while, slap them in the face, so to speak?

[Answer] That isn't anything that hasn't happened before. But we have reached agreement in a lengthy discussion of analysis and goals. The remaining issue was that Strauss wanted more consideration of the Bavarian small farmer.

[Question] And you are now going to meet this demand for special treatment promptly.

[Answer] I am trying to do what is possible. But, of course, the special benefits are not just for Bavaria but for all small farms in the FRG.

[Question] That would mean that, in the final essence, the milk policies will be watered down in view of the CSU farm vote.

[Answer] As far as the principle is concerned, we cannot permit the regulation to be watered down. If we can't cut supplies, then our main goal to protect prices is no longer possible either.

[Question] This policy will hit the small milk farmer relatively harder than the large ones. Yet it was you who just now emphasized social considerations.

[Answer] Unfortunately there is no discussion of what would have happened if we had introduced the supply regulation. Then, the price of milk would have fallen. And if production had risen nevertheless, Brussels would have tabled the old proposal, i.e., intervention ...

[Question] ... that is, to buy at a fixed guaranteed price ...

[Answer] ... to leave out dried skim milk. That, however, is one of the pillars of our market system.

[Question] And this exclusion would have hit harder?

[Answer] According to our calculations, it would have meant 15 pfennigs in terms of the price of milk, and that within a **very** short time period. My question then is, what would this have done to small enterprises? That would have meant a loss in income of at least 30-40 percent.

[Question] Aren't the leaders of the farmers associations aware of this counter-calculation?

[Answer] I should think so. And, in addition, the farmers out there in the villages are being told over and over again that reduced sales also mean reduced profits. That, of course, is wrong. After all, our supply policies already show their intended effect on the price of milk: it is rising.

[Question] The attempt to reduce the surplus production of milk must probably be followed by other manifestations of power of this kind. One example: The flood of wine in the EEC keeps rising. If we're having "some" anger already now--and that was an understatement--, we are going to have tremendous anger by next year. How do you want to survive that politically? Then things will already be done with an eye to the next federal elections.

[Answer] How could I survive elections if the market system is breaking apart and producer prices are falling from between 5-25 percent?

[Question] Does that also mean that a sacrifice will be made for farmers during the next price negotiations in Brussels?

[Answer] I can't answer that on a purely fiscal basis. We have two zero rounds in agricultural prices behind us. In a democracy, there are political possibilities, but there are also things one can't do. It's hardly possible to accept a third zero-price round; that isn't only true for milk.

[Question] And then we also have to come to terms with Spain's and Portugal's accession.

[Answer] From a purely agro-political point of view, the accession is going to bring nothing but burdens. The initial cost is about DM 7 billion. My estimate is that this is realistic for the beginning but that it will then develop in a dynamic way. We have to be aware of this unless we want to stagger about like politically blind men.

7821

CSO: 3620/114

## FINLAND, CEMA COMMISSION RECOMMENDS JOINT PROJECTS

Helsinki HUFVUDSTADSBLADET in Swedish 17 Nov 84 p 16

[Text] On Friday the Cooperation Commission for Finland and the CEMA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] concluded its meeting in Helsinki. The commission adopted recommendations for 19 new cooperation agreements between Finnish companies and the CEMA countries.

The commission also gave the green light to conduct negotiations on another 19 cooperation projects on the company and institution levels. During the last 11 years the commission has adopted recommendations which have led to a total of 78 economic and scientific-technical agreements between Finnish companies and institutions and organizations in the CEMA countries, according to an announcement by the chairman of the Helsinki meeting, Foreign Trade Minister Jermu Laine on Friday. Laine indicated that several CEMA countries had expressed interest in technology related to process control equipment for the machinebuilding sector, and this technology has been put in as a new area of cooperation.

The parties have also discussed the ability of the Finnish companies to participate in the smaller CEMA countries' drive to develop their cellulose and paper industry; this is a development project which is being carried out with technical assistance from the USSR, according to Laine.

Within this sector a number of agreements have already been signed between Finland, the USSR and Bulgaria, and last summer a similar three-way agreement was signed with Czechoslovakia.

Another possible area of cooperation is that of technology associated with new forms of energy and industrial energy conservation, according to Laine. The parties have also been working for several years on simplifying and unifying the international trade procedures, and the commission has now adopted three recommendations on international documents and four standardization recommendations. The indirect economic benefit of this work may be significant, since the paperwork and bureaucratic red tape can account for up to 8 percent of the value of the trade, noted Laine.

CSO: 3650/88

## SOVIETS INTERESTED IN STEPPED-UP TRADE

Athens MESIMVRINI in Greek 21 Nov 84 p 17

/Text/ The Soviets wish to open up their markets to Greek products beyond the traditional ones (citrus products etc.) for the purpose of lessening the shortage in the trade balance.

This was determined during the recent meeting of the president of the Soviet section of foreign trade of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Athens, Mr Tamouridis, with members of the USSR trade delegation in Athens.

During this meeting, it was underlined that the trade balance of our country with the USSR, that closed in 1983 with a ratio of 1 to 3.5 against Greece, is heading this year, according to the figures to date, to a ratio of 1 to 5.2.

## Imports

This means that we are importing 5 times the value in products than what we export to this country. It is noted that during the last congress of the mixed intra-ministerial committee of the two countries, it was agreed to improve considerably the ratio mentioned above.

During the meeting of the authorized persons of the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, the Soviets expressed their intention of helping to increase the imports of Greek products, beyond the traditional ones that are now included in the bilateral exchanges.

For this reason, as announced by the EVEA /Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Athens/, the gathering of information from businesses that wish to export to the Soviet Union has started.

The Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Athens will gather information from those interested on the products that they may export to the USSR and then will send the information to the commercial section of the Soviet Embassy in Athens so that they may come in direct contact with the respective firms in the USSR.

The interest is tremendous since the Soviet market may absorb many Greek items that are considered competitive, in addition to the agricultural, mining and certain other products for processing that make up the exports now.

## GOLD SALES RUMORS: POLITICAL PRESTIDIGITATION

Lisbon A TARDE in Portuguese 24 Oct 84 p 11

[Article by Pedro Duarte Neves: "A 45-Million Conto Paradox"]

Our politicians' juggling acts are greatly facilitated by mathematical tricks. Suppose that 45 million in gold was actually sold. The deficit would be covered. But what would happen next year? Sell more gold to keep covering the deficit? We cannot help but conclude that the sale of gold was intended to cover a 45-million conto increase in public spending.

"Once upon a time there was a poor farmer with three sons. A few days before the farmer died, he made a will. His entire fortune, which consisted of 17 horses, was to be divided as follows: half to the eldest son, one-third to the middle son and one-ninth to the youngest son. After the old farmer died, the three brothers thought and thought, but could not figure out how to divide the horses according to their father's will.

"Then one of the brothers, realizing that they would never figure it out, suggested that they go talk to the oldest man in the village, who was well-known for his broad experience and wise advice. Sure enough, having thought about the problem for a moment, he gave them his solution. He added one of his own horses to the inheritance, making a total of 18 horses. Then, he gave half of the horses (9) to the eldest son, one-third (6) to the middle son and one-ninth (2) to the youngest son. Altogether, this came to 17 horses, so he took the horse which was left over, which, if you remember, was his in the first place. So the three brothers solved their problem and happily returned home."

We began the "Topic of the Week" with a little math trick which, I'm sure, math whizzes rapidly figured out. For those with less aptitude for tricks like this, we will try to provide a few little hints. The old farmer, in dividing his estate among his sons, only left seventeen-eighteenths of his fortune ( $1/2 + 1/3 + 1/9$ ), i.e., he forgot about the last one-eighteenth. So the wise old man of the village by increasing the inheritance from 17 horses to 18, knew from the beginning that the last one-eighteenth (his own horse) would not be lost.

All right, but what does this have to do with the problems usually discussed in this column? Surely, this would be our readers' first question after reading this little mathematical trick. It may seem strange indeed to relate this to a recent incident which occurred in our economy.

Our little story specifically concerns parts that do not add up to a whole, or is you wish, parts which no one can quite locate. It has to do with things like the last one-eighteenth, which appear and disappear according to the rationale applied. Which reminds us of the problems that came up recently in revising the 1984 budget.

About three weeks ago, a certain weekly reported that the minister of planning and finance made large cuts in the 1985 Government budget, thus reducing the expected deficit from 310 million contos to 250 million. The absurd magnitude of these figures left a great many Portuguese citizens astounded and speechless. They didn't even know that the 1984 budget would reach a dizzying 250 million, about 73 million more than what was originally thought. And all of this on top of proclaiming all year that a rigorous austerity policy was being followed.

In spite of acknowledging a 28-million conto increase in spending, 23.5 million of which is intended for the increasingly insatiable state-owned corporations, the remaining 45 million was claimed to be due to the failure to realize receipts in such an amount from the sale of gold. Fortunately, our foreign trade balance was favorable and, to our great joy, we did not have to sell any of our reserves. Therefore, as a result of still another favorable indication of recovery in our foreign accounts, this increase in the budget deficit may even be considered positive....

It is immediately obvious to everyone that the gold that was sold or that was to have been sold is the one-eighteenth that is missing or that is a surplus, according to each person's point of view. Our politicians' juggling acts are indeed greatly facilitated by mathematical tricks. Suppose that 45 million in gold was actually sold. The deficit would have been covered. But what would have happened next year? Sell more gold to keep covering the deficit?

One cannot help but conclude that the sale of gold would have been used to hide a 45-million conto increase in public spending, in other words, a 45-million conto increase in the deficit. If on one hand, the 45 million were the missing one-eighteenth (i.e., that portion of revenues which was not received), it is also obvious that the solution to this charade has nothing to do with that amount, because the real deficit increase is 45 million, with or without the gold.

Doubtlessly, it is the magnitude of our public sector and its total inability to manage its resources that give rise to our enormous economic problems, namely the need to contain economic growth to bring the balance of payments into line, and the continuous and uncontrolled price increase. Once again, just like in 1978, the public sector is the only economic structure which



did not comply with the letter of intentions to the IMF. Finally, and even more seriously, its unconscionable behavior will undo all the sacrifices made by the Portuguese over the last few months.

However, the discussion on the 1985 budget is approaching. But after all this, who would lend it any credence?

88/4

CSO: 3542/38

## BUSINESS DEFENDS VAT, SEEKS METHOD OF IMPLEMENTATION

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Nov 84 pp 1,7

[Text] Speaking at the assembly meeting of the Istanbul Chamber of Industry [ISO] two days ago, Executive Council President Nurullah Gezgin expressed support for the value-added tax [VAT] and said that industrialists have favored this taxation method for years. Meanwhile, numerous industrialists and businessmen who met under ISO Vice President Mehmet Suhubi yesterday decided to support VAT along the lines of ISO's stance and to formulate opinion through frequent meetings to resolve any problems that may emerge in implementation.

While debate over VAT intensified in the ISO, Ankara Chamber of Commerce President Turgut Ilhan said in a statement in Ankara that with only 5 weeks remaining before VAT takes effect people in business have not yet been trained to implement VAT procedures and demanded that implementation directives be issued without further loss of time. In a statement on the same issue, the Bursa Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association stated that those who will be liable to pay VAT are not sufficiently informed about the subject and demanded that more clarifications be issued.

## Gezgin's Speech

Speaking at ISO's monthly assembly meeting, President Nurullah Gezgin noted that VAT is a taxation method that has been favored by industrialists for years. He said:

"We agree with the principle of VAT, but there are issues that must be taken into consideration during its implementation. VAT will make auditing and tax collection easier. We are also expecting certain complaints to arise in connection with VAT. VAT will cause price hikes and temporary stagnation in the market at the beginning of the new year."

Emphasizing that there are points in the VAT legislation that need clarification in connection with investments, Gezgin said that investors will have to pay 10 percent VAT on the machinery they will import in January and demanded that this tax not be applied to investments since it would have the effect of increasing the financing burden.

Contending that the more liberal distribution of investment incentives would also be inadequate, Gezgin said: "Incentives alone are not sufficient. How can there be investments without guaranteed currency exchange rates?"

Complaining also about high interest rates, the ISO President charged that not much can be expected from an industry that operates with such high interest rates.

ISO Assembly member Natic Buda complained that they cannot know the exact amount of the export tax rebate prior to a sale and that, as a result, they are finding it difficult to quote prices for clients abroad.

Nurullah Gezgin added that the export tax rebate system cannot be eliminated simply because "some people are abusing the system."

#### Meeting Under Suhubi

Following Nurullah Gezgin's statement in favor of VAT at the ISO assembly meeting two days ago, numerous industrialists, businessmen and financial consultants met yesterday under the chairmanship of ISO's Vice President, Mehmet Suhubi. At the gathering, which included businessmen and industrialists generally opposing VAT, ISO's stand was explained and the steps to be taken to follow up on Gezgin's statement were discussed. While there was agreement to back the chamber's stance to support VAT, it was decided to monitor its implementation carefully and to seek solutions to the problems that may emerge. The meetings of the experts and the practitioners, the first of which was held yesterday, will continue within the framework of the ISO.

#### Turgut Ilhan's Statement

Ankara Chamber of Commerce Executive Council President Turgut Ilhan said that regulations and directives in connection with VAT must be issued without further loss of time. Ilhan said that although only 5 weeks remain before VAT becomes effective many issues remain unclarified and that there is not much time to train business personnel and the citizens for the new taxation system.

Referring to Minister of Finance and Customs Ahmet Alptemocin's statement to the effect that tax rebate rates will be increased to 15 percent and that the 15-percent ceiling on rebates will be raised, Ilhan said:

"The raising of the rebate rates will prevent abuses related to VAT. We think this is a sound decision. Higher tax rebate rates will insure a healthier implementation of VAT. If the tax rebate rate remains the same as VAT, that is 10 percent, the seller will begin bargaining with his customers and he will say, 'I will not invoice you and I will not charge you VAT which you have to pay.' The raising of tax rebate rates and ceilings will prevent such abuses."

#### Bursa Industrialists' Statement

A statement issued by the Bursa Industrialists' and Businessmen's Association says that those who will be subject to VAT and Ministry of Finance personnel are not adequately informed about the new tax. The written statement says that panel discussions and lectures must be organized to clarify the issue to the taxpayers. The statement adds:

"VAT is a type of expenditures tax that is levied at all manufacturing stages of a product, and as a result there will be a large number of people with

liability to pay the tax. It is worrisome to think how a tax system which finds it difficult to provide answers to those who are presently liable will be able to respond to a much larger group of taxpayers. It would be optimistic to say that the government has to give up 500 billion liras in tax revenue from its 1985 budget. The task at hand, therefore, is to intensify the work to train the taxpayers and the Ministry of Finance personnel. While the Ministry of Finance trains its own personnel, the chambers of commerce and industry, the universities, the press, businessmen and associations must help the taxpayers by educating them."

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CSO: 3554/52

## VAT EXEMPTION RULES FOR EXPORT FIRMS CLARIFIED

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Nov 84 pp 1,7

[Text] Ankara--Criteria for the exemption of exporters from the Value Added Tax [VAT], which will go into effect on 1 January 1985, have been clarified. It has been decided to exempt export firms from VAT "in the form of tax rebates," according to a directive being prepared by experts from the Ministry of Finance.

It has also been agreed not to impose any minimum sales limitations for exporters to be eligible for VAT exemptions.

Directives in connection with the implementation of VAT are expected to be published by the Ministry of Finance and Customs by the end of next week. While preparatory work continues for the directives--which will be published in the Official Gazette in daily segments under subject headings--provisions exempting exporters from VAT have become finalized.

The Value Added Tax Law had exempted export deliveries and services related to these deliveries as well as services performed for overseas clients from VAT, but it had left the task of determining the procedures and criteria for the implementation of the exemptions to the Ministry of Finance and Customs.

The initial idea that an exporting firm be required to produce "only an invoice" after the conclusion of a sale for exemption from VAT gave rise to intense debate within the group of experts formed by the Ministry of Finance. In view of the fact that such an implementation could lead to "phony export transactions," it was finally agreed to make the exporting firm "first pay VAT in accordance with normal procedures and then get a rebate from the revenue service."

According to this formula, which will become a provision in a directive, it will be necessary to "have a license" to be considered as an exporting firm. The Ministry of Finance will accept export licenses as sufficient documentation for the purposes of this tax, but the firm will have to pay its 10 percent VAT when it concludes its export sale. The exporting firms, which will be subject to a "1-month taxation period," will then have to submit to the appropriate revenue service office a VAT declaration for actually exported taxable goods "by the night of the 25th day following the end of the taxation period." The exporting firms will also have to calculate the tax they have to pay and must

have paid it to the tax office again "by the night of the 25th day following the end of the taxation period." The exporting firms will receive their tax rebates at this stage, and those which have paid their VAT properly will get back the amount they have paid in the form of rebates.

The Ministry of Finance also decided not to impose any limitations on export sales volumes that will be used as criteria in determining who is eligible for exemption from VAT. According to this decision, if a firm has an export license it will have to pay VAT even if he exports only "\$1 of goods."

The Ministry of Finance is also working to determine the scope of a compensatory taxation system to be applied to selected products at the retail level. Accordingly, grocers, supermarkets, vegetable and fruit retailers, fast food outlets and similar retailers will be subject to a 13-percent compensatory tax. While a final decision has been reached on this issue, the Ministry of Finance seems to be inclined toward excluding the retail sales of durable consumer goods from the scope of the compensatory tax.

If this view is finally endorsed, retailers which sell refrigerators, washing machines, vehicles, radios, television sets and similar equipment will have to pay VAT both when buying them and when selling them. Under the compensatory taxation system, certain retailers will pay VAT by adding 13 percent on the cost price of the item at the time of purchase, and they will have no connection to VAT from thereon.

Meanwhile, there has been a growing number of applications from various sectors to the Ministry of Finance for exemption from VAT. The applicants, which include fresh fruit and vegetable exporters, the maritime transportation sector and certain subsectors which manufacture export-oriented products and which use imported materials, are demanding exemption from VAT on grounds that the tax would cause "confusion in their cost computations" and would "fuel cost inflation."

Despite the large number of applications, the Ministry of Finance experts have endorsed the principle of "keeping the scope of exemptions as limited as possible." It is reported that Minister of Finance and Customs Ahmet Alptemocin also "agrees with that view."

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CSO: 3554/52

## LIBYAN INDUSTRY MINISTER PLEDGES FULL COOPERATION

Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 23 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] The Libyan Secretary of Heavy Industries, 'Umar Mustafa Muntazir, said in a statement before his departure from Turkey yesterday that industrial cooperation between Turkey and Libya has begun. He added: "Unfortunately, there are those who are trying to spoil our good relations. However, no power can weaken these relations which are rooted in history."

Muntazir continued his contacts in Turkey after attending the convention of the Permanent Committee for Economic and Trade Cooperation of the Islamic Conference. He held talks with various Turkish officials including Prime Minister Turgut Ozal, and a protocol was signed between the two countries. The protocol envisions the mobilization of all resources to establish industrial cooperation between Turkey and Libya in various fields.

The Libyan Secretary of Heavy Industries, who spent 10 days in Turkey, began his statement by saying, "I am very happy to be visiting brotherly Turkey." He said in brief:

"Our ties with Turkey are very old. They are rooted in history. I am very happy to contribute to these relations. This lengthy visit is an indication of past and future good relations between the two countries. Our negotiations ended in a full accord. We agreed to cooperate in the industrial sector. Libya has now entered an industrialization stage. Turkey may benefit extensively from this situation."

Stating that Libya is very pleased with Turkish contractors, Muntazir said: "There are always minor mishaps in such large projects. But they can be resolved. We will naturally tackle the problems of the Turkish contractors who have contributed substantially to Libya's development."

Turning to contractors Ali Riza Carmikli, Sarik Tara, Salih Zeki Kolat and Ozer Olcmen, who were present at the farewell ceremony, Muntazir said: "You can see how diligently they are following up on their problems. It is hard to answer that question in their presence, but we are truly very pleased with them."

Minister of Industry and Trade Cahit Aral said in his statement that very positive developments have taken place in relations with Libya and added:



"We discussed the issues within a very positive framework. The industrial protocol we have signed and its implementation will certainly play a major role in the development of our relations with Libya. I would also like to express our gratitude and appreciation for Libya's invaluable role in helping our contractors to open up to the outside world. We wish and we are determined to see these relations expanded into the industrial area."

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CSO: 3554/50

## STATISTICS SHOW ABSENCE OF GROWTH SPURT

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Nov 84 p 1

[Editorial: "The Structure of Growth"]

[Text] According to the third GNP forecast by the State Statistics Institute [SSI]--based on the economy's performance in the first 9 months of the year--the growth rate for 1984 will be 5.7 percent.

This latest forecast, which is consistent with the previous two forecasts based on economic data for the first 3 and 6 months of the year, is highly significant. In particular, the 3.2-percent growth rate for 1983 has been surpassed. More importantly, the growth rate for 1984 is expected to be the highest for the past 7 years.

Given these figures, can it be said that the burdensome stability programs have accomplished their goals and that the pattern of growth has been restored in the economy? A realistic answer to that question requires an analysis of how the 5.7 percent figure was achieved.

The growth that is measured relative to 1983 appears to have been strengthened primarily by the agricultural sector. Agricultural sector revenues, which were estimated to have declined by 0.2 percent in 1983, are expected to grow by 3.6 percent this year.

Beside agriculture, the industrial sector is also expected to grow more robustly in 1984 than in previous years. It is estimated that revenues in the manufacturing industry will grow by 9.6 percent and those of the general industry will grow by 8.7 percent in real terms.

How has such a high growth rate been achieved in industry for which more sound data is known to have been used than for agriculture? This is an important question from a standpoint of planning Turkey's future.

There are no new investments in industry to spur growth. However, it is known that the utilization in the 1980's of the large industrial production capacity Turkey built before 1980 contributes to national income calculations as revenue growth.

In addition to this limited development, there is also widespread concern that the growth rate is artificially increased by keeping low the "price deflator

factor" which reflects the inflation rate. Although the SSI raised its price deflator factor to 46.4 percent in its third forecast--compared to around 40 percent in its previous forecasts--the said factor was lower than increases in the wholesale and consumer price indexes compiled by the SSI itself. According to the SSI indexes, wholesale prices rose by 56.2 percent and consumer prices rose by 53.0 percent as of the end October.

This stance with respect to inflation is leading to anomalies. For example, real per capita GNP in Turkish liras was calculated to have risen by 3.9 percent, but in U.S. dollars it declined by 7 percent from \$1070 to \$995. And it would not entirely correct to say that the cause of this anomaly was the general rise of the U.S. dollar in currency markets. Computations based on the German mark, which was one of the weakest major currencies in 1984, indicate a 0.5 percent decline in per capita annual income.

All these facts imply that one cannot say that the Turkish economy has returned to a growth pattern. Indeed, despite the apparent 5.7-percent growth rate forecast for 1984, those responsible for charting the course of the economy can set the growth target for 1985 at only 5.5 percent.

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CSO: 3554/50

## WORKERS CONTINUE TO FAVOR DRESDNER OVER CENTRAL BANK

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Nov 84 p 3

[Text] Ankara--Despite the high interest rates offered by domestic banks on savings accounts, in view of the fact that the annual inflation rates are equally high a major portion of the savings of Turkish workers abroad continue to be held in foreign banks.

According to information obtained from Central Bank sources, the foreign currency deposits in the Dresdner Bank of Turkish workers in West Germany has risen by 53 percent since the beginning of the year. Deposits held by Turkish workers at Dresdner Bank rose from \$1.251 billion at the beginning of the year to \$1.9154 billion on 9 November 1984.

There was also a rise in the amount of foreign currency used by the Central Bank through the Dresdner Bank. The amount of foreign currency used by the Central Bank through the Dresdner Bank rose from \$217.4 million in the first 9 months of 1983 to \$292.4 million in the corresponding period of this year. The balance of Turkish workers' deposits at Dresdner Bank after this year's transfers stood at \$1.623 billion.

Central Bank officials attribute the growth of Turkish workers' savings deposits at Dresdner Bank and other German banks to the high inflation rate in Turkey. While interest rates on 3-month time deposits were raised to 53 percent and those on treasury bonds exported by the Undersecretariat of the Treasury and Foreign Trade were increased to 55 percent, the fact that the inflation rate for the period September 1983 to September 1984 was 56.2 percent induced the workers' savings to flow to foreign banks.

It was also disclosed that Decree No. 28 on the Protection of the Value of Turkish Currency, which allows Turkish citizens to open foreign currency accounts in Turkish banks, has also failed to attract sufficient amounts of Turkish workers' savings to Turkey. A Central Bank official explained that, like foreign banks, Turkish banks offer interest rates of 10 to 12 percent on foreign currency accounts depending on the term of the account and that the Turkish banks are still suffering from the adverse effects of the brokers' crisis in 1981 and 1982. The official continued:

"The banks are still suffering from the adverse affects of the capital market crisis that began with broker bankruptcies in 1981 and 1982 and ended with the

liquidation and merger of certain banks. Although legislation was introduced last year allowing Turkish citizens to open foreign currency accounts in Turkish banks, Turkish workers overseas are not depositing their savings in Turkish banks at the expected rate. The fact that Turkish workers abroad prefer to deposit their savings in banks in the countries they are in even though interest rates offered on foreign currency accounts is roughly the same in all countries indicates that there is a continuing lack of confidence toward the Turkish capital market as a result of events that occurred 2-3 years ago."

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CSO: 3554/51

## SURVEY OF CURRENT MONEY SUPPLY, DEMAND, ACCOUNTS

Istanbul DUNYA in Turkish 23 Nov 84 pp 1,7

[Text] Ankara--Rapid growth in time deposit accounts and currency in circulation since the beginning of the year has led to an expansion of  $M_2$ , the broad-based money supply. As of 2 November 1984, time deposits held by the banking system reached 2,353.1 billion Turkish liras and currency in circulation climbed to 824.7 billion Turkish liras. As a result of these two factors, the broad-based money supply grew by 33.2 percent.

The broad-based money supply rose to 4,195.2 billion Turkish liras paralleling the growth in the volume of savings deposits, while the currency in circulation grew by 54 percent reaching 824.7 billion Turkish liras. Meanwhile, commercial deposits, which constitute one of the components of the broad-based money supply, declined by 20.9 percent in the period between 30 December 1983 and 2 November 1984 dropping to 637.9 billion Turkish liras.

During the same period, demand deposits declined by 33.9 percent to 343.8 billion Turkish liras, while deposits held at the Central Bank rose by 106.6 percent to 35.7 billion Turkish liras. Time deposits which played a major role in the growth of the broad-based money supply rose by 85.2 percent during the said period reaching 2,353.1 billion Turkish liras.

## Latest Week

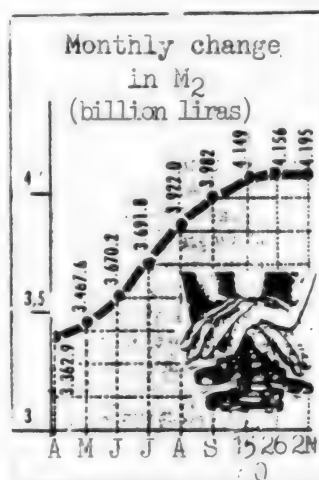
According to computations based on data provided by the Central Bank, the broad-based money supply known as  $M_2$  rose by 0.9 percent during the week of 26 October to 2 November. On 26 October 1984,  $M_2$  stood at 4,156.7 billion Turkish liras.

During the said week, the currency in circulation rose by 4.4 percent. On 26 October, the amount of currency in circulation stood at 789.8 billion Turkish liras. Time deposits, the second factor that expanded the money supply, rose by 1.5 percent during the same week. Time deposits rose from 2,316.3 billion Turkish liras to 2,353.1 billion Turkish liras in the latest week.

During the same 1-week period, commercial deposits in banks declined by 4.8 percent, from 669.9 billion Turkish liras to 637.9 billion Turkish liras. While demand deposits declined by 0.7 percent during the same period, Central Bank deposits rose by 2.5 percent. On 26 October, demand deposits stood at 345.9 billion Turkish liras and Central Bank deposits stood at 34.8 billion Turkish liras.

Changes in the Broad-based Money Supply,  $M_2$  (billion Turkish liras)

<u>Component</u>	<u>12/30/83</u>	<u>26/10/84</u>	<u>2/11/84</u>	<u>Percent change from</u> <u>30/12/83 to 2/11/84</u>
Currency in circulation	535.7	789.8	824.7	54.0
Commercial deposits	806.1	669.9	637.9	-20.9
Demand deposits	520.1	345.9	343.8	-0.7
Central Bank deposits	17.3	34.8	35.7	2.5
Time deposits	1,270.7	2,316.3	2,353.1	85.2



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CSO: 3554/51



## OIL, GAS ACTIVITY IN COUNTRY'S NORTH SEA FIELDS STEPPED UP

Zurich NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG in German 2 Nov 84 p 17

[Article: "Denmark Seeking Oil and Natural Gas in North Sea: Foreign Firms Involved"]

[Text] Copenhagen, End of Oct (Reuters)--Denmark's search for oil and natural gas in the North Sea will enter a new phase at the beginning of November when the British Oil Exploration Company (Britoil) will be the first of seven companies under license to begin drilling in Danish territorial waters, thus ending the era of DUC (Danish Underground Consortium) as the sole license holder.

According to DUC, which includes the Danish firm A.P. Moeller, as well as Shell, Texaco and Chevron, oil production is already meeting about one quarter of Denmark's demand which last year was 9.9 million metric tons. The Danes will be able to draw more and more gas from the new natural gas network opened for operation by Minister-President Schlueter, and thus by 1987 natural gas will take the place of about 25 percent of their oil consumption. The state-owned energy suppliers, however, have had difficulty up to now getting "their own energy supplies" to the public.

The Danish government, which plans to grant more licenses in 1985, in addition to Britoil granted licenses to international concerns such as Amoco, Phillips, Getty, Aminoil, British Petroleum and Lochhiel. Since 1963 alone DUC has drilled 68 wells and opened five oil fields. According to their own figures, research and production costs amounted to about 34 billion Danish kroner.

Significant in terms of searching for oil reserves is the comparatively shallow water of the Danish North Sea with a maximum depth of 50 meters (most of the British fields lie at a depth of 150 meters). Although Danish North Sea oil is of the respected quality of the Brent type, the deposits are much smaller than the British deposits for example. The British deposits produce 500,000 bbl per day, while the Danes are aiming for a total daily output of 50,000 bbl by 1986.

Although Denmark's economics experts do not doubt the high quality of Danish oil, it has met with resistance from the country's consumers. For example, the state-owned energy company Dansk Olie Naturgas, which has agreed to buy 55

billion cubic meters of natural gas from DUC over the next 25 years, is having financial problems due in part to a pricing system which sets industrial gas fees in relation to oil costs. The refusal of commercial enterprises to accept this pricing system (a company which uses an expensive type of oil must pay more for gas than a company that uses cheaper oil), ultimately forced an appeal. Dansk Olie Naturgas, however, was subsequently also unable to resell more 80 percent of their gas purchases from the first year and was thus left with a total surplus of 170 million cubic meters.

However, the minority government and the opposition social democrats found a simple solution. The electric companies were to help overcome the sluggish business climate by converting up to five oil- and coal-fired power plants to natural gas. Regardless of whether they now use gas or not, Elkraft and Elsan (the parent company of all the electric companies) must now pay for 2.5 billion cubic meters of gas by the end of 1991.

Oil could in any case improve the balance of payments which in the first half of this year registered a deficit of 10.2 billion Danish kroner (2.4 billion Swiss francs), twice as much as in the same period the year before. The government thinks savings on energy imports equivalent to about 1.5 billion Swiss francs annually until 1987 are possible.

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CSO: 3620/101

## ORIGIN, MEASURES TO COMBAT ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 8 Nov 84 p 25

[Article by Prof H. U. Wanner of the Institute for Hygiene and Labor Physiology at the Zurich Technical College: "Overview of Current Situation: Environmental Pollution in Switzerland"]

[Text] In order to make judgments about the benefits and relative importance of environmental protection measures--above all to set priorities--we require as much information as possible concerning the extent and the consequences of the various kinds of air, water and land pollution. Based on information currently available, is such a comprehensive judgment possible? Certainly there are still gaps in our knowledge of the effects of specific toxins on health and on the ecosystems. What is known, however, is to what degree the air and water are polluted, which pollutants are hazardous to man and his environment and what risks must be considered in terms of long-term effects. The following "evaluation of the situation" is based on a report called "Global 2000," on the "Swiss Biocide Report" published recently, on studies conducted by the Zurich "Infras" planning office and on publications of the Federal Environmental Protection Agency.

## Recognizable Damage

What kinds of effects, damage or disruptions in the ecosystems are apparent in Switzerland today whose cause can be clearly attributed to environmental pollution, and which can be detected not only using the most modern analytical methods available to natural scientists but also by the "naked eye"? Some examples which indicate the "tip of the iceberg":

## Effects on health:

Respiratory illnesses

Irritations or inability to sleep due to excessive noise

## Residual substances in foodstuffs:

Excessive amounts of heavy metals in mushrooms and vegetables

Excessive amount of nitrates in drinking water

## Forest damage:

Large percentage of damaged deciduous and coniferous trees

High sulfur, chlorine and fluorine content in needles

Eutrophication of lakes and rivers:

Changes in fish populations

Excessive phosphate content

Damage to art objects and buildings:

Sulfur deposits on sandstone

Accelerated weathering of buildings and works of art

Damage to landscape:

Reduction of scenic areas

Loss of natural river courses

These are the results of environmental pollution which has increased on a massive scale mostly within the past 30 years in Switzerland, although the population has increased only slightly within the same period. Below are some figures on how much average annual "consumption" per person increased in Switzerland between 1950 and 1980:

Energy consumption (total)	approx. 3x
Consumption of liquid fuels	approx. 8x
Consumption of phosphates	
(cleaning products)	approx. 3x
Generation of wastes	approx. 3x
Living space occupied	approx. 2x
Mileage driven	approx. 10x

In addition to the immediately recognizable damage due to increased harmful pollution in the industrialized nations, world-wide problems with as yet undetermined consequences and which are clearly the result of environmental pollution are already apparent. These problems include: increased carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere, negative effect on the ozone layer, increased pollution of the oceans, local climatic changes and the threatened extinction of numerous kinds of plants and animals.

#### Exchange of Matter and Ways in Which Contamination is Spread

In order to understand the different kinds of matter and how they interact, we can simplify our analysis by differentiating between four different areas, the atmosphere (air), the hydrosphere (water), the pedosphere (soil) and the biosphere (living things). There is a continuous exchange of matter between the atmosphere, hydrosphere, pedosphere and biosphere by means of various transport media (wind, evaporation, precipitation and sedimentation)--the exchange of matter is in equilibrium.

Through his activities mankind has increased the "amount of exchange" of certain types of matter to such an extent that the natural exchange of matter has been greatly exceeded; in addition he has also injected new substances into his environment which did not previously exist in nature. One result of this is the injection into the air, water and soil of compounds which are difficult to biodegrade--on a world-wide scale. Examples of such "overloads" are the increased carbon dioxide content of the atmosphere and of heavy metals

in the soil; an example of a completely new type of pollution is the increased concentration of chlorinated hydrocarbons in lakes, rivers and soils.

Fig. 1 shows the ways in which contamination can be spread, as well as its impact. It shows that the atmosphere acts as a kind of "transportation" for pollutants, while the hydrosphere and pedosphere act as "collecting basins" for all of the impurities. Pollutants in the air can endanger people, plants, forests and cultural objects, while those concentrated in the water and soil above all contaminate the food and drinking water, cause disruption of the ecosystems and can effect the vitality of plants and animals (their growth, for example).

#### The Most Significant Pollutants and Their Effects

The pollutants in our environment directly affect the health of people, plants and animals; however they can also lead to added risks in the case of already existing illnesses or to increased susceptibility to infection, as well as to exogenous factors (for example, drought due to forest damage). Because of their usually low concentrations and sometimes similar effects, it is difficult to precisely determine the danger of each individual pollutant. Moreover, the consequences of short and long-term pollution must also be differentiated.

In the overall evaluation of the ecotoxicological potential of a pollutant--in addition to its toxic effects--the following properties must also be taken into account: the rate at which it is generated, the type of emission (concentrated, dissipative), any recombinant products, physical effects, persistence and accumulation.

Fig. 2 is an overview of the most significant pollutants based on their risk potential for humans, lakes and rivers and plants. In the case of gaseous impurities, phosphates and nitrates, as well as noise pollution, the quantitative factors are significant in determining risk, while in the case of heavy metals (particularly lead, cadmium and mercury), pesticides and radionuclides, the persistence and accumulation of exposure are the decisive factors.

#### Sources and Extent of Pollution

Fig. 3 provides an overview of the most significant sources of environmental pollution and the ways in which contamination is spread. Figures are available on the extent of emissions in Switzerland. Experience has shown that such calculations based on estimations and available data on emissions are inexact and error prone. Nevertheless these figures certainly provide an indication of the magnitude of the different kinds of pollution.

Of significance in evaluating pollution are also the figures on its increases in the past 30 years. During this period emissions of nitrogen oxides and hydrocarbons, for example, have increased approximately sixfold and threefold respectively in Switzerland, while sulfur dioxide emissions have decreased slightly. There have also been large increases in water pollution by phosphates.

## Pollution Levels Above Immission Limits

In Switzerland the immission limits established in view of health and ecological considerations have been reached or exceeded by the following pollutants:

Sulfur dioxide, nitrogen dioxide and carbon monoxide in the air above the cities and conurbations

Phosphates in the lakes and rivers

Pesticides, heavy metals and nitrates in certain foods

Noise pollution has also frequently exceeded permissible limits--above all noise caused by city traffic, air traffic and industrial plants

According to the environmental protection law, these limits are established such that people, plants and animals, their biotopes or living spaces are not endangered, buildings are not damaged, and vegetation, lakes and rivers and the fertility of the soil are not adversely affected by immissions which do not exceed them. Exceeding these limits is a signal that it is necessary to immediately initiate effective countermeasures. This is particularly true of measures which can be implemented at the source--for example, reducing the permissible waste gas and noise emissions, as well as tightening restrictions on construction, traffic and industries.

## Greatest Long-Term Risks

In addition to these immediate measures--and this is another important objective of the environmental protection law--it is also necessary in terms of prevention to limit early any effects which might become dangerous or bothersome. Therefore, those pollutants which become dangerous over the long term must be reduced as much as possible. This includes above all the persistent accumulative compounds, as well as pollutants whose risk potential is due to quantity factors or to the danger of accidents.

These pollutants--with the greatest long-term risks--include in the "qualitative" sense chlorinated hydrocarbons, heavy metals and radionuclides, and in the "quantitative" sense sulfur dioxide, nitrogen oxides, hydrocarbons, phosphates, nitrates and carbon dioxide.

All of these pollutants can be reduced by effective measures at the source; the use of harmful substances with a high ecotoxicological potential--above all heavy metals and chlorinated hydrocarbons--should be severely restricted or if necessary prohibited. Strict regulations regarding waste disposal are also necessary to prevent any new compounds which are difficult to biodegrade from forming, as can happen in incomplete combustion for example.

## Reduce Exchanges of Energy and Matter

The great danger of increasing environmental pollution is that the ecosystems, already heavily burdened due to the accelerated exchange of matter, will suddenly be no longer able to react to the slightest additional loads. Due to continuing weakening, they lack "resistance"--as is the case with the dying forests. It must also be kept in mind that further disturbing the equilibrium

of the ecosystems could cause damage, the extent and consequences of which are unpredictable.

Nature must be given time to recover; it can no longer be used so selfishly. Exchanges of energy and matter must be reduced and compounds which are difficult to biodegrade must no longer be permitted to enter the ecosystem. The risks discussed above are much too great and must be effectively reduced.

At issue is therefore the preservation of life as we know it. This objective is also clearly defined in the environmental protection law. An ecologically sound economy must contribute to the optimum utilization of energy and raw materials so that as little hazardous waste as possible is generated. Priorities favoring environmental protection must be set. This will of course affect our habits as consumers. We should recognize, however, that certain limitations in terms of comfortable living, mobility and the way we spend our free time will not negatively affect the quality of life but rather enhance it.

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